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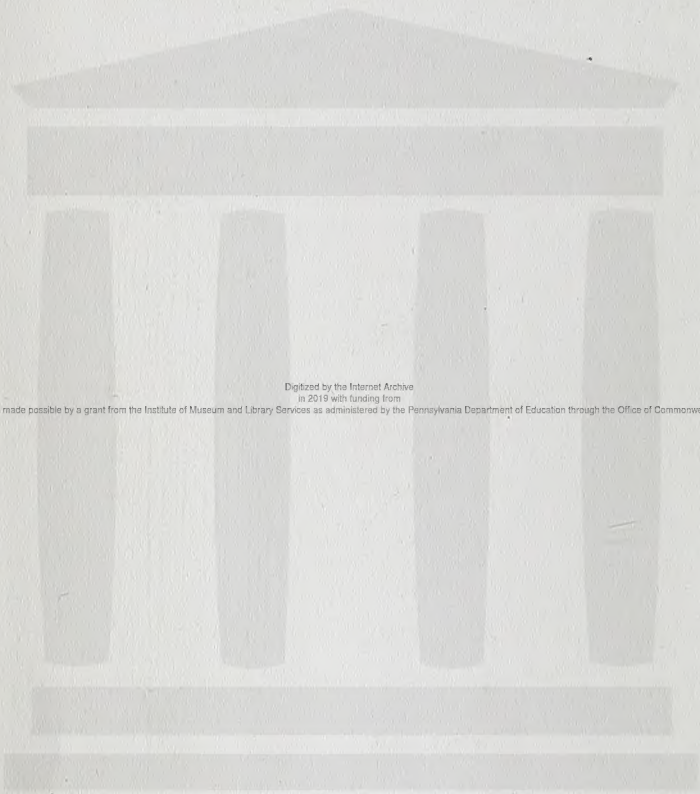

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PUBLIC

CHARACTERS,

OR

COTEMPORARY BIOGRAPHY.

MEMOIRS of the following personages are given in this work.

Charles James Fox,
William Pitt,
Dr. Erasmus Darwin,
Henry Dundas,
Dr. John Wolcott,
William Herschel,
Marquis Cornwallis,
Joseph Priestley,
Mr. D' Israeli,
Lord Nelson,
Gilbert Wakefield,
Earl St. Vincent,

Robert Southey,
William Godwin,
William Cowper,
Warren Hastings,
Sir Ralph Abercrombie,
Dr. James Gregory,
Dr. William Mavor,
Lord Grenville,
Duke of Bridgewater,
Thomas Jefferson,
Bushrod Washington,
Edmund Randolph,

Dr. Hugh Blair,
Sir Joseph Banks,
Henry Addington,
John Horne Tooke,
General Bowles,
Count Rumford,
Dr. James Beattie,
Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell,
Dr. Jenner,
General Ira Allen,
Earl Stanhope,
Mr. Curran.

" ————I wish no other herald,
" No other ſpeaker of my *living actions*,
" To keep mine honour from corruption,
" But such an honest chronicler———."

HEN. 8. Act 4. Sc. 2.

BALTIMORE:

PRINTED BY BONSAL AND NILES,

FOR SELVES; JOHN CONRAD AND CO. MATHEW CAREY, AND SAMUEL F. BRADFORD, PHILADELPHIA, AND SAMUEL CAMPBELL, NEW-YORK.

.....

1803.

EXTRACT FROM THE

PREFACE

OF THE BRITISH EDITORS.

"THE object of the Work which is now submitted to the Public, is to exhibit, in the memoirs of the illustrious actors, the public and secret history of the present times. Respectable works of a similar description, have been published in various countries on the continent; none, however, have hitherto been attempted, upon the same plan, in this country.

"BIOGRAPHY, in all its forms, is allowed to be the most fascinating and instructive species of literary composition. It not only possesses all the advantages of general history, the various excellencies of which may be judiciously interwoven with the lives of eminent personages, but it frequently discovers the minute and latent springs of great events, which, in the comprehensive range of History, would have escaped attention.

"Many of the attractions of Biography in general, and some additional advantages, are possessed by *co-temporary Biography*. The memoirs of men, who are the present actors on the great theatre of life, who acquire and demand public confidence, and from whom further results of action or meditation are to be expected, necessarily excite a higher degree of curiosity, than the lives of those who have made their exit from the stage, by whom no future good or evil can be performed or perpetrated, and who, "dead, gone, and

4922

forgotten," are generally carried down the stream of oblivion, and swallowed up in the gulph of unregistered mortality.

"It must be admitted, that the biographer of deceased persons is better enabled, by the independence of his situation, and a more extensive retrospect, to estimate the degree of virtue and vice, and to appreciate the sum total of merit and demerit with greater precision, than the cotemporary biographer, who is restrained, by the extreme delicacy of his undertaking, from giving the finishing stroke to his delineations of character, whose incomplete materials prevent him from deducing general and important conclusions in their proper latitude, and, in many cases, from discriminating between hypocrisy and sincerity. Still, however, a writer of this description is better able to collect facts, and may in general, be more depended upon, as to the authenticity of his testimony, than he who writes the lives of deecased persons. Many eminent men, respecting whom posterity have cause to lament the deficiency of biographical information, have passed their early days in obscurity, and those who then knew them, were either too ignorant, or too unobservant, to be able to make any communications respecting them. When Death has once set his seal upon their labours, few or no opportunities offer of obtaining satisfactory and circumstantial information; their early cotemporaries are, probably, also gone off the stage. From causes like these, how little is known of some of the most distinguished luminaries that have irradiated the political and literary hemispheres! Of many we know only, that they filled elevated situations, that they composed splen-

did works, made important discoveries, died in a particular year, and were at length interred in some venerable repository of the dead.

" Publications like the present, will best provide against a future deficiency of this kind, with regard to the distinguished personages who now fill up the drama of public life in the British empire. The Editors are not likely to commit themselves, and the reputation of their work, by inserting direct falsehoods, or partial misrepresentations: no character, of whom they now or may hereafter treat, can be thought insensible to the love of cotemporary or posthumous fame:——hence, should any undesigned error, or any inacurate statement, inadvertently escape them, it may be rationally presumed, that the party affected, from a regard to his own reputation, will take the earliest opportunity to correct such mistatements; or that some friend, intimately acquainted with the subject, in the candor and warmth of esteem, may be stimulated to write a more particular and accurate account, for a subsequent edition.

" From these premises * may it not be reasonably concluded, that this Work possesses a legitimate claim to public patronage, as well from its promised utility to future biographers and historians, as from its being an highly entertaining and useful assemblage of interesting and important facts and anecdotes?

* Beside other arguments which may be urged in recommendation of this novel undertaking, the Editors might quote the example of some of the most illustrious men in all ages and nations, who have judged it proper to write their own memoirs, and to publish them during their life-time.

" In respect to the present volume, it is necessary to remark, that the articles are written by a number of gentlemen. Such a multiplicity of facts in so extensive and various a group of characters, could not have been supplied by any one or two individuals. Although a delicate task, the mode generally adopted in the composition of this Work, has been to apply to some friend of the party, whose intimate knowledge of the relative facts and circumstances qualified him to do ample justice to the character. This indispensable arrangement, requisite to produce the faithful execution of the volume, has, however, occasioned a variety in the style and manner of the several articles, which, at first sight, may give it a sort of heterogeneous appearance, but will not detract from its real merit in the estimation of the judicious reader.

" It is possible that a fastidious observer, or other person more intimately connected with the subject of the several memoirs, may here and there detect some venial error, some trifling anachronism, or apparent misconstruction; for these the Editors can only atone, by expressing their earnest wish for more correct information, which will be thankfully received, and punctually attended to in a future edition. That some inaccuracies are unavoidable in a work of this nature, must naturally be expected by every person accustomed to habits of literary composition, or who possesses sufficient knowledge of the complicated occurrences which mark the career of public and private life.

" The Editors are more seriously apprehensive lest, in any instance whatever, they should unfortunately

and unintentionally be a means of wounding the acute sensibility, the laudable ambition, or the generous pride of any individual;———no procedure could be more alien to their wishes and intentions. Any representation on the part of those who may think themselves aggrieved, which may be transmitted to the Editors, shall be treated with marked deference and attention.———The most scrupulous caution has been exercised, to divest the *tout ensemble* of every appearance of national and political partialities.———*No attachment to any particular set of men or opinions, no prejudices against men in place, no prepossessions in favour of men out of place, no bias towards any controverted points of theology, no personal antipathies, no malevolent exaggerations, no invidious disposition to detract from acknowledged virtue or merit, have influenced, in whole or in part, the conduct of the Projector and Conductors of the work.*

[In presenting to the public an American edition of this very valuable and celebrated work, the Editors have only to observe, that the succeeding memoirs are selected from five volumes, being from its commencement to the present period.——As, in the British edition, there are a multitude of characters, neither generally known, or interesting to, the people of the United States, it was believed that a judicious selection could not fail of being acceptable to an American public. On our

part endeavours have been used to render this volume worthy of the patronage of all, " of whatever sect or persuasion, religious or political."]

☞ The figures at the close of each sketch, note the time at which it was written.—" *Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.*"

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PUBLIC CHARACTERS

OR,

COTEMPORARY BIOGRAPHY.

THE HONOURABLE (lately RIGHT HONOURABLE) CHARLES JAMES FOX.

ALL the great men of the present day, are either the offspring of, or immediately descended from new families. The ancient nobility repose under the laurels of their ancestors, not deigning to apply to any of the learned professions, and deeming commerce and agriculture unworthy of their pursuits, (a few illustrious characters excepted) they delegate their domestic concerns to the care of their upper servants, and not unfrequently the business of the nation is entrusted to their proxies. This perhaps, will be the best apology for the multitude of plebian scions, recently ingrafted on the stock of ancient aristocracy; and although it may puzzle Norrey and Clarencieux, to find them either arms or ancestors, certain it is, that the *life blood* of nobility has been infused into the peerage through the conduit of democracy.

It may be also necessary to preface this article with another observation, of which some of the most conspicuous characters of the present political drama, afford more than one pregnant instance; that the younger sons of our nobility are more successful in their political ef-

forts than the elder*. This may be easily accounted for; the heir to a great fortune and an illustrious title, knows not how soon both may devolve upon him, and when that event takes place, to what further object can his expectations point? He finds that he has been born a legislator, and that a large fortune is entailed upon his person; here then are wealth and honours not only within his grasp, but actually within his power. It is otherwise with the junior branches, for they have in general but little in possession, and every thing to look for; they inherit all the exquisite relish for pleasure that their seniors enjoy to satiety, and are only deficient in the means of gratification. Like the dove of Noah, they scarcely find a resting place for their feet on the earth; and are exactly in the situation of an invading general who has burnt his ships, for they must advance on, or perish!

Charles James Fox is the youngest son of Henry, who was himself a younger son of Sir Stephen Fox, celebrated less for his own birth, than the circumstance of being a father at the age of eighty, an event not incredible however, and rendered in the present instance unsuspicious, by the decorous conduct and acknowledged virtue of the partner of his bed. Henry entered early into public life, and such was his address in parliament, during the reign of George II. that he soon attained not only some of the most arduous and honourable, but also the most lucrative situations in the gift of the crown, for in the year 1754, he was appointed secretary at war; then secretary of state for the Southern department, and after being *ousted* by the great Mr. Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, we find him filling the immensely beneficial

* The following remarks are made by the late Lord Orford, better known by the name of Horace Walpole.

"William Pitt, Lord Chatham, was a second son, and became prime minister of "England. His rival and antagonist was Henry Fox, Lord Holland, a second son "likewise. Lord Holland's second son, Charles Fox, and Lord Chatham's second son, "William Pitt, are now rivals and antagonists."

office of pay-master general of the forces, accumulating great wealth, and incurring the animadversions of the first city of the empire. Such indeed was his consequence, that at a time when patents of peerage were not very common, he was ennobled by his present majesty, in 1763, by the title of Baron Holland of Foxley.

His son, Charles James, was born January 13th, 1749, and if by his father's side, he classed among the *novi homines*, by his mother's, his descent must be allowed to be splendid, for Lady Georgiana Carolina Lennox, was the daughter of the late Duke of Richmond; and as such, in addition to that of the King of Sardinia, she was allied to the two rival, but related families, which had so long contested for the throne of Great Britain—those of Brunswic and Stuart.

But it is not to such vulgar claims as these that the future historian will have recourse; he will dwell with ardour on the early promise of genius, the precocious talents of the boy, the matured wisdom of the philosopher and statesman, and while the abilities and virtues that adorn the character of this hero, bring him forward on the canvas, these inefficient and involuntary pretensions will be cast into the shade, and scarcely be distinguished in the back ground.

The second son proved Lord Holland's favourite child, and at length became the darling of his old age. Perceiving in him the seeds of all the qualities that constitute greatness, he was at infinite pains to give scope to his intellectual vigour, to expand the shoots, and disclose the blossoms of so promising a plant. From his earliest infancy he intended him for parliamentary business, and by conversing with him always as if he had been a man, he actually made him one before the usual time. He is even said to have submitted his dispatches to his perusal, while in office, and to have complied with his corrections.

This country much about the same time, beheld in the persons of two rival orators, two wonderful instances of statesmen, retiring from the field of contention, and devoting the remainder of their lives to the education of their two younger sons, with whom they were accustomed to talk about public affairs, and sometimes to place on a table in order to hear them declaim. Occupied the better part of their days in hostilities against each other, the enmity of the families seems to have become hereditary, for it is kept up by their children, who still maintain a rivalship, even after they had abjured the principles of their respective sires.

In compliance with the future destination of his son, Lord Holland preferred a public to a private education, and accordingly sent Charles to Westminster school. After distinguishing himself here, he removed to Eton, where Dr. Barnard, the late provost, found him not only uncommonly eager after amusements, but eminently successful in classical attainments. His private tutor, while a member of this celebrated institution, was Dr. Newcome, afterwards Bishop of Waterford, who, while he was frequently vexed at the dissipation of his pupil, had occasion at the same time to be highly gratified with his progress. Here he formed his early friendship with the Earl of Fitzwilliam, Lord Carlisle, his own relation the Duke of Leinster, and some of the first men of the age. It was here also, that* one of them anticipated his future reputation in the following lines:

" How will Fox, alone by strength of parts,
" Shake the loud senate, animate the hearts
" Of fearful statesmen, while around you stand
" Both Peers and Commons list'ning your command;
" While TULLY's sense its weight to you affords,
" His nervous sweetness shall adorn your words.
" What praise to PITT to TOWNSHEND e'er was due,
" In future times my FOX, shall wait on you."

* Lord Carlisle.

His father being in the uncourtly language of those days, "a rank Tory," Charles was sent to finish his education at Oxford, where he is reported, in imitation of Penelope, to have regained by his daily toils, the labours lost by his nocturnal abberations.

At length he began to pant after a more unrestrained intercourse with society, and consequently to be disgusted with restraints, and tired with the uniformity of a collegiate life. The most easy, as well as most likely way to rid himself of this, was to evince an ardent desire to see the world; and as his studies were now completed, his father, as usual, indulged the wishes of his darling son. Those who have been accustomed to see Mr. Fox of late years, without being acquainted with the minute particulars of his early life, will scarcely believe, that at this period he was one of the greatest *beaus* in England; that he indulged in all the fashionable elegance of attire, and vied, in point of *red heels*, and *Paris-cut-velvet*, with the most shewy men of the times. These and similar qualifications were displayed in most of the courts of Europe, in the course of the grand tour; and if he did not return like his maternal anceſtor*, with all the vices of the continent, he at least brought a wardrobe replete with all its fashions. Nor will a strict regard to historical truth permit the omission of more culpable transgressions, for he is said, amidst the ardour and impetuosity of youth, to have expended, or rather lavished, vast sums of money in† play, and to have contracted immense debts. Let it be recollected, however, that he was at this very time between two and three years short of that period, when the law declared him to be no longer a minor.

* Charles II.

† Dr. Bisset, in his life of Burke, asserts that his father, Lord Holland, who accompanied him to Spa, first excited an itch for play in his youthful mind, by allowing him five guineas a night to be spent in games of hazard. But as this rests on the mere assertion of that gentleman, it will be difficult to give credit to the report.

His enemies have carefully reminded us, that the first political act of his life was a violation of the constitution of his native country; for at the general election in 1768, he took his seat for Midhurst, in Sussex, a borough under the influence of his family, when he was only nineteen years of age, and consequently ineligible. It is with pain too, it is here reluctantly recorded, that the first effort of his eloquence was hostile to liberty*; but, besides his extreme youth, the bent of his education, the prejudices of his family, and the wishes of a fond father, ought all to be taken into consideration; and if a complete vindication does not ensue, and ingenuous mind will not be at a loss for an apology.

During all the proceedings of the House relative to the Middlesex election, Mr. F. stood forward as the champion of the ministry, and exhibited no common address and activity on the occasion. From the first moment of his entering the senate, he, indeed, displayed all the qualities of the orator; and Lord North, then chancellor of the exchequer, deemed his merits so considerable, that in the beginning of 1772, he nominated him to a seat at the admiralty board, and in the latter part of the same year made him, in some measure, a partner with himself in the management of the empire, by appointing him a lord of the treasury.

Amidst this seeming devotion to the court, there were not wanting opportunities when he shook off the trammels of dependence, and allowed his manly mind to take its full scope. Not the least memorable of these was during the debate on the bill brought into the House of Commons by Sir William Meredith, to give relief from subscription to the xxxix articles of the church of England; and in the liberal sentiments delivered on that

* His first speech was in opposition to Mr. Wilkes, then confined in the King's Bench; and whatever the *motives* of that gentleman might be, dispassionate men will now be ready to avow, that on this occasion, his cause was not only popular but just.

occasion, he has firmly and uniformly persevered, until the present moment.

But the time had now arrived when a new direction was to be given to his pursuits. The real cause of this event, which involved so many important consequences, can only be guessed at. The sons of the Lords Guildford and Holland, were both possessed of talents; the one, perhaps, aspired to, the other enjoyed, the supreme command; and like two great men of antiquity, the first, perhaps, could not brook a superior, nor the second a rival. The enmity was first developed in the refusal of a petty appointment; it encreased on the memorable examination of the Rev. Mr. Horne, now John H. Tooke, at the bar of the House of Commons; and finally become public, in consequence of the following billet, couched with all the energy of Spartan brevity:

"His Majesty has thought proper to order a new "commission of the treasury to be made out, in which "I don't perceive your name.

"NORTH."

"The Hon. Mr. Fox.

Considering this not merely as an injury, but an insult, the enmity of Mr. Fox from that moment became public, and he at length raised such a constitutional opposition to the administration of the noble lord who had thus treated him in a manner bordering on contempt, that he, in the end, subverted his power, and dragged his antagonist to the very edge of the scaffold.

In the mean time, Lord Holland died, leaving a large sum of money, and considerable estates in the neighbourhood of Kingsgate, with the house there, built in imitation of Tully's Formian villa, on the coast of Baiæ, to his son Charles. He was thus in possession of a plentiful fortune, and had he retained it, would have stood upon high ground in point of consequence: for these bequests, in addition to the clerkship of the pells

in Ireland, soon after sold to Mr. Jenkinson, now Lord Liverpool, must have produced a nett annual income of more than 4000*l. per annum*.

After the dissipation of this large property, a common mind would have, perhaps, bent under the calamity; his, on the contrary, seems to have rebounded from the fall; and instead of sinking into despair, to have actually soared into celebrity, and even independence.

A new and a noble field now opened to his ambition; and he commenced his career as a patriot, on principles which Locke has upheld, and Sydney would not have blushed to support. The members of that administration, supposed by some to be only the puppets of a northern peer, had rendered themselves detested by the oppression of Mr. Wilkes, the prosecution of the printers, the countenance given to the riots at Brentford, and the military execution in St. George's-fields.

Another event of infinitely greater magnitude now filled up the bitter draught of popular odium; and the previous oppression, and threatened subjugation of America, aroused a general spirit of resistance within the mother country, and pointed the finger of public vengeance at the devoted head of the premier. Fortunately for Mr. Fox's consistency, his conduct respecting the transatlantic contest, was ever strictly uniform; and on this, as on a subsequent occasion, he saw afar off, anticipated the impending calamities, and predicted the accumulation of misfortunes, which afterwards overwhelmed the nation.

Accordingly, in 1774, he opposed the introduction of the Boston Port bill, and apologised for the conduct of the colonies. In his speech on this occasion, he arraigned the conduct of the minister in bold and energetic language, and explained the principles of the violated constitution, with an eloquence worthy of the cause. The treasury-bench began, for the first time, to calculate

the loss it had sustained, the opposition to estimate the strength it had acquired, while the people rejoiced to behold, in the person of a youthful senator, whom they had been taught to consider as an enemy, a firm, an intrepid, and an eloquent advocate, such as would not have disgraced Rome in her best days.

On this occasion, he sat on the same seat as a Saville, a Barré, a Dunning, and a Burke, with the last of whom he had frequently broken a lance, in the war of argument, from the opposite side of the house ; and he has since candidly avowed, that from this celebrated man he first imbibed those enlightened maxims of government, professed and acted upon by the pupil ! alas ! when the master himself seemed to have abandoned them.

On the discussion of Mr. Burke's conciliatory propositions, in 1775, he strenuously supported the liberal schemes of policy pointed out by that gentleman, and spoke and voted during the whole contest in direct opposition to that criminal system, which it had been fondly and fallaciously prognosticated was to produce the unconditional submission of the colonies, and lay them prostrate at the feet of the mother country !

At length all the evils that had been foreseen were realised. America, driven to despair, declared herself free and independent ; monarchical France exerted her protecting arm across the Atlantic ; the capture of Burgoyne and Cornwallis proclaimed the triumphs of liberty ; and a new conflagration lighted up in Europe, by the firebrands that had been scattered in another hemisphere, wasted the strength, and exhausted the resources of England.

At the general election in 1780, the family-borough of Midhurst falling into other hands, and Mr. F. blushing, perhaps, at the idea of violating the very spirit and essence of a constitution, which he now began, for the

first time to understand and venerate, determined to become a candidate for the city of Westminster; and he at length succeeded, after a violent contest, in which he baffled not only all the interest of the Newcastle family, but also all the influence of the crown, both of which were powerfully, but unsuccessfully, exerted against him. Being now the representative, not of a petty venal borough, but of a great city, and that too without any expence to himself, he appeared in parliament in a more dignified capacity, and acquired a considerable increase of weight and consequence.

Soon after this, the ministry began to totter, and the political *rats* were in motion, in order to desert the sinking fabric. A minority, at first contemptible in point of numbers, but always formidable in respect to integrity and abilities, and which then claimed the present premier amongst the most zealous of its partisans, had increased in power and popularity. The ministers were assailed within by the thunders of eloquence; without, they were overwhelmed by the clamours of an indignant people: to proceed in the war was ruin; and to recede, betrayed them into personal danger. At length the "noble lord in the blue ribbon" was hunted into the toils, and it was hoped by many, that public justice awaited his misdeeds; for in a contest, in which oceans of blood had unjustly flowed, some one must have been criminal; and who more proper for an expiatory sacrifice, than the ostensible author of so many calamities? Alas! had punishment been but inflicted on one single solitary individual, all our subsequent calamities might have been averted, and the world taught to believe, that even in respect to *great offenders*, some connexion still existed between guilt and punishment!

But the Rockingham party contented themselves with the defeat of their opponents; and Mr. Fox, of course, was nominated to a seat in the cabinet, and appointed one of the secretaries of state. The merit of this short-lived administration was conspicuous. Notwithstand-

ing they had succeeded to an empty exchequer, and a general war, they yet determined to free the people from some of their numerous grievances; and had they remained a little longer in power, infinitely more would have been effected. Contractors were excluded by act of parliament from the House of Commons; custom and excise officers were disqualified from voting at elections; the proceedings in regard to Middlesex were rescinded; while a reform bill, rather specious, however, in name, than in reality, abolished a number of useless offices. A more generous policy was also adopted in respect to Ireland; a general peace was already meditated; an ancient ally was attempted to be soothed by an offer of negociation*; and America, which could not be restored, was at least intended to be conciliated.

In the midst of these promising appearances, the nobleman, who was the key-stone that supported the discordant materials of the political arch, died suddenly, and the council board was instantly divided by political schisms.

The Marquis of Lansdowne, who appears at this period to have had the ear of the king, and a majority in the cabinet, was immediately entrusted with the reins of admistration, and Mr. Fox determining, (to make use of his own language,) "never to connive at plans in "private, which he could not publicly and consistently "avow," retired from office with a numerous and respectable body of his friends.

In the mean time, the party left in possession of all the great offices, concluded a peace with America, France and Holland; but their administration proved of short duration, for a grand political confederacy had now been formed against them. This, under the name

* Mr. Fox, wishing to detach the Dutch from the coalition with the house of Bourbon, wrote a letter to M. Simolin, the Russian Minister, in which he offered to form a new treaty on the basis of that of 1674.

of "the coalition," soon subverted their power, and supplanted them in office. No event, in our time, has produced more obloquy than the alliance between Mr. Fox, and Lord North; and it is not to be concealed, that it was even then pregnant with inauspicious results, and has since been productive of the most sinister consequences, as it enabled an ambitious young man to give the first stab to the constitution, by setting a vote of the House of Commons, hitherto deemed inviolable, at defiance. The "India Bill," of which Mr. Burke is said to have been the penman, proved the rock, on which the vessel of the ill-paired colleagues foundered; and it is not a little memorable, that their more fortunate rivals revived this very measure, and carried it triumphantly through Parliament!

We now behold Mr. Fox once more, divested of power, reduced to shelter himself against accidents in the representation of the* Orkney Isles; and to contend with an unexampled perseverance for a seat as member for Westminster; which, after a memorable scrutiny, and an immense expenditure, he at length obtained.

He has since been re-elected to the same honourable post, and has steadily combated, as a representative of the people, the influence of the crown; which, in his opinion, alone constitutes, and produces all their grievances. His subsequent conduct has been such as to restore the current of popularity, and raise his name higher than before. His grand maxim, and surely it is immediately connected with the prosperity, and, perhaps, the existence, of a manufacturing and commercial country, is the maintenance of peace. With this object in view, he opposed a contest with Russia, about the

* This is rather incorrect, Mr. Fox being returned for the district of boroughs, called Tain, Dingwall, &c. &c. Even here, however, he was opposed by Sir John Sinclair, but the interest of the present Lord, then Sir Thomas Dundas, finally prevailed.

fortress of Oczakow, and a conflict with Spain concerning the peltry of Nootka Sound.

During the first stages of that melancholy event which led to the regency bill, Mr. Fox was wandering through the delightful regions of modern Italy, and seemed enchanted once more to tread on classic land. From this charming spot, he was called to witness and to participate in far different scenes, and finally to behold the party he opposed more firmly seated in power than before.

He has been blamed for his conduct during the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, but he was supported by a majority of the House of Commons on that occasion, and by nearly all his political enemies. This measure was absolutely necessary, in order to clear the honour of the nation, and prove to the oppressed inhabitants of India, that in England they would still find avengers. It is not to be denied, however, that the trial was spun out to a most oppressive length, and that the supposed culprit at last ceased to be odious in the eyes of the people. The forms of the House of Peers, as a court of justice, are indeed unfavourable to the dispatch of business, but the managers ought, perhaps, either to have accelerated these, or to have withdrawn from a struggle, when they perceived that the first step towards punishment consisted in the oppression of even a guilty individual!

No sooner did the French nation evince a sincere desire to shake off the dominion of absolute power, than he hailed the auspicious dawn of rising liberty, and deprecated the interference of this country, in a quarrel hostile to the principles on which she had founded her proud pre-eminence. On this occasion, he experienced the dereliction of many of his associates, and among others of that man of whose lips he had first imbibed the principles of freedom. Finding, however, that he and his friends were reduced to a scanty minority, he has since retired, in a great measure, from public business,

and left the minister to triumph by means of the majorities in his interest. Nor is this all, for his name has been lately struck out from the list of privy counsellors; an event unexampled in the present reign, and only once exercised during the last, in respect to a nobleman* accused of cowardice and disaffection.

As an orator, Mr. Fox is assuredly the first man of his age. He simplifies the most abstruse details, he analyzes the most complex arguments, and he reduces the most subtile positions to the test of first principles. Animated himself, he animates others. Unambitious of melodious words and studied phrases, that dwell only on the ear, the correctness of his reasoning assails the judgment, while the irresistible thunders of his eloquence at once influence and captivate the senses. Struggling continually against the stream of power, he yet appears inferior to no man, and he wants only to stand on the "'vantage ground" of success, to be viewed as the greatest man of his time.

As an author, he has produced several specimens of poetical composition, which with a due culture might have attained excellence. His verses to Mrs. Crewe, beginning with the following lines, have often been praised:

"Where the loveliest expression to features is join'd,
"By nature's most delicate pencil design'd;
"Where blushes unbidden, and smiles without art,
"Speak the softness and feeling that dwell in the heart," &c.

His invocation "to Poverty" must, however, be allowed to be superior, and it contains a national reflection that may offend some; it ought, however to be recollected, that the English, *at that period*, were much disgusted with the temporising conduct of their northern neighbours:

* Lord George Germaine.

" O Poverty! of pale consumptive hue,
" If thou delight'st to haunt me still in view,
" If still thy presence must my steps attend,
" At least continue, as thou art, my friend.
" When *Scotch example bids me be unjust*,
" False to my word, unfaithful to my trust,
" Bid me the baneful error quickly see,
" And shun the world to find repose with thee.
" When vice to wealth would turn my partial eye,
" Or int'rest shutting ear to sorrow's cry;
" Or courtiers' custom would my reason bend,
" My foe to flatter, or desert my friend;
" Oppose, kind Poverty, thy temper'd shield,
" And bear me off unvanquish'd from the field.
" If giddy Fortune e'er return again,
" With all her idle, restless, wanton train,
" Her magic glass should false Ambition hold,
" Or av'rice bid me put my trust in gold;
" To my relief, then, virtuous goddefs, haste,
" And with thee bring thy daughters ever chaste,
" Health! Liberty! and Wisdom! sisters bright,
" Whose charms can make the worst condition light,
" Beneath the hardest fate the mind can cheer,
" Can heal affliction and disarm despair;
" In chains, in torments, pleafure can bequeath,
" And dress in smiles the tyrant hour of death!"

His letter * " To the worthy and independent Electors of the City and Liberty of Westminster," is his only avowed prose publication, and this has experienced a nearly unexampled sale, having run through twelve or thirteen large editions. On this occasion, he makes a manly appeal to his constituents; and in a clear and perspicuous style deprecates the idea of foreign alliances, and insists on the necessity of acknowledging the French Republic as an independent state. While alluding to the ridiculous project of subjugating that power, by external force, he expresses himself thus:

" The conquest of France!!! O! calumniated cru-

* Publifhed in 1793.

" saders, how rational and moderate were your projects!
" O! much-injured Lewis XIV, upon what slight
" grounds have you been accused of restless and inor-
" dinate ambition! O! tame and feeble Cervantes, with
" what a timid pencil and faint colours have you paint-
" ed the portrait of a disordered imagination!"

Of the *private* life of this great orator, the public may be anxious to have a few authentic particulars. Mr. Fox no longer resides any part of the year in town, having disposed of his house in South-street; when he visits London, which is but seldom, he stays sometimes at the house of his old friend General Fitzpatrick, and sometimes at a hotel in the neighbourhood of New Bond-street. Except during the shooting season, when he visits Mr. Coke, &c. in Norfolk, he lives chiefly at St. Ann's-hill, near Chertsey. There he superintends the cultivation of his grounds, enjoys the pleasure of horticulture, and amuses himself in forming his shrubberies. To " the rose," the theme of the Persian poets, he seems particularly attached; for he has a parterre near his house, in which there are no less than thirty different species. He also possesses a great taste for botany; and has been at infinite pains to render himself master of the Linnæn system.

In general, he rises about seven o'clock, mounts his horse instantly, rides to the river, and plunges into the Thames. He then returns to breakfast, which is over before ten. The forenoon is, for the most part, dedicated to his books; and is accordingly spent in his study. Before dinner, he takes a walk or ride, around the neighbouring village, sits down to table a little after three o'clock, and lives well, and like a gentleman, without any appearance, however, of luxury or ostentation. After indulging in a few glasses of port or sherry, he retires with his guests about six, to the tea-room, which presents a most delightful prospect in the summer season; and after a couple of dishes of coffee, a glass of

liqueur de Martinique is handed round to the company.

The evenings are generally dedicated to domestic entertainments. Sometimes he reads, and then generally aloud; at other times he plays at some manly game on the lawn, or listens to the music of a favourite lady while fingering the *piano-forte*, or the pedal harp. The evening is not unfrequently spent at the HOLLAND, a charming octagon building, dedicated to his nephew, Henry, Lord Holland, and inscribed to him. From this building is to be seen a most luxuriant view of the surrounding country; but the eye is unwilling to roam abroad, as it is ornamented with beautiful paintings by the hand of Mrs. Armstead.

While the hirelings of ministry are representing him as plotting against the state, he is, most probably, perusing Homer in the original language; and the immortal bard, or the "conspirator," is, perhaps dandling a child in his arms, or, peradventure, if it be in the summer season, playing at trap-ball on the grass!

In person Mr. Fox is somewhat above the middle size, and, of late years, is rather inclined to be fat. His features which are strongly marked, exhibit an appearance of shrewdness and ability; and his eye in the midst of debate, or the animation of converse, flashes with fire.

No portrait has been oftener painted, and he must be a very inaccurate artist, indeed, who cannot hit off the saturnine complexion, the piercing look, and the arch and bushy eye-brow of the great commoner. The chissel as well as the pencil, has been employed in giving durability to his resemblance, for a great number of busts have been executed, of late years, in marble, by

*Nollekens; and one in *terra cotta* has still more recently been finished by Merchant, as a model for a gem.

The following dedication to Mr. Fox, is by one of the greatest scholars of the age:

CAROLO JACOBO FOX.

Quòd veram illam & absolutam eloquentium
non modò coluerit, sed cultam, qua potuit,
ad Salutem Patriæ Dignitatemque tuendam contulerit;
Quòd in suscipiendis sive amicitiis, sive inimicitiis,
has semper voluerit Mortales
habere, illas Sempiternas;
Quòd Mente solida invictaque permanserit in proposito,
atque improborum spreverit minas;
Quòd in Causa, quæ maxime popularis esse debuisset,
Non populariter ille quidem,
ut alii ficte et fallaciter populares,
sed strenue ac fortiter versatus sit;
Quod denique, in fœdissimo illo
Optimi prudentissimique Senatus naufragio,
Id demum, imo id solum,
quod turpe esset,
Miserum existimârit, atque adeò cum bonis
Libere statuerit,
potius quam periculose & simulate & cupide
inter malos,
Librum huncce ea, qua par est, Observantia.
D. D. D.
A. E. A. O.

* No less than thirty-two have been finished by this sculptor, at sixty guineas each, for the Empress of Russia, the Dukes of Devonshire and Portland, Lord Albemarle, &c. &c. &c.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM PITT,

CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, &c. &c.

IT is, at all times, a difficult, delicate, and sometimes a dangerous task, to attempt the delineation of the life and character of a minister of state. The passions of the generality of men are too much agitated to attend to cool discussion while they contemplate the immediate political situation of their country, more especially in a period like the present, so replete with important and singular events.

The subject of this article is, in many points of view, the most conspicuous prime minister which modern Europe has ever beheld, whether he be considered in respect to his very splendid talents, his wonderful success in life, or the singular events which have occurred during his administration. His history will include the annals of the most remarkable epoch in modern times; and he will be justly deemed, by future ages, the lever which gave motion to the proceedings of all the cabinets of Europe. A large share of the good or evil which may result, will be solely ascribed to his councils. In short, he may be considered as uniting the striking qualities of the Cecils, the Walsinghams, the Richlieus, the Mazarines, the Straffords, the Louvois, the Alberonies, and the Walpoles; to none of these is he inferior in abilities, in eloquence, or in the various arts and consummate policy of the courtier and the statesman.

This country never had a minister of whom such different opinions have been entertained, as of the present, and indeed no former one was ever placed in such critical circumstances. The history of this illustrious statesman, comprising, as it necessarily must, a review of his political life, will be resorted to, at some future period, as one of the most interesting and instructive

performances that can occupy the attention of mankind.

William Pitt, the illustrious Earl of Chatham, had two sons, one of whom, the present able minister, is the youngest. He was born May 8, 1759, at a time when his father's glory was at its zenith; and when, in consequence of the wisdom and integrity of his councils, and the vigour and promptitude of his measures, British valour reigned triumphant in every part of the globe.

On the accession of his present majesty, that great statesman, in consequence of new arrangements, chiefly occasioned by the rising influence of the Earl of Bute, retired from the station which he had so honourably filled; and consigned his elder son to the instructions of able tutors, he devoted his own time to the education of WILLIAM, on a strong and well-founded persuasion (as he was in the habit of saying) that "he would "one day increase the glory of the name of PITT."

His classical knowledge Mr. Pitt acquired under the care of a private tutor at Burton Pynsent, the seat of his father; and the Earl took great pleasure in teaching him, while still a youth, to argue with logical precision, and speak with elegance and force. He judiciously accustomed him to the practice of making accurate enquiries respecting every subject that caught his attention, and taught him not to remain satisfied with a superficial observation of appearances.

This lesson brought him into an early practice of cool and paitent investigation, rarely, if ever acquired, by those who prefer the trappings of eloquence, and the showy ornaments of language, to plain sober diction, and pertinent matter of fact.

Under such an able paternal tutor, an acute mind could not fail to imbibe a store of sound practical knowledge. The earl, with his usual perspicuity, fancied he saw in

his son a future statesman, and in all probability, a future minister, of his country also. It was a laudable ambition in a father, and to gratify it he spared no exertions; directing his whole attention to the great object of rendering his son accomplished in all things requisite to form a public character, and to preserve the lustre already attatched to the name of WILLIAM PITT.

He, himself, frequently entered into forced disputations with him, and encouraged him to argue with others, upon subjects far above what could be expected from his years. In the management of these arguments, his father would never cease to press him with difficulties; nor would he permit him to stop, till the subject of contention was completely exhausted. By being inured to this method, the son acquired that quality which is of the first consequence in public life—a sufficient degree of firmness, and presence of mind, as well as a ready delivery, in which he was wonderfully aided by nature.

That he might have all the benefits of education which this country could give him, and, at the same time, by a rapid progress through the necessary studies, qualify himself early for the senate, he was taken at between fourteen and fifteen years of age from his father's roof, and from the care of a very enlightened and worthy clergyman, Mr. (now Dr.) Wilson, and sent to Pembroke college, Cambridge, where he was admitted under the tuition of Messrs. Turner and Prettyman, both very able and well qualified tutors, and willing to second, to the utmost of their power, the intentions of his father. Mr. Prettyman was also his private tutor, and a better choice could not have been made, as far as classical and mathematical knowledge were concerned. For eloquence he could not look up to either of his tutors; but his father's example and precepts required no farther assistance. In Cambridge he was a model to the young nobility and fellow-commoners; and it was not doubted that if the privileges of his rank had not exempted him

from the usual exercises for the bachelor's degree, he would have been found among the first competitors for academical honours. On his admission, according to custom, to his master's degree, the public orator found it needless to search into his genealogy, or even to dwell much on the virtues of his father, the eyes of the university were fixed on the youth; the enraptured audience assented to every encomium, and each breast was filled with the liveliest presentiments of future greatness. To the honour of Mr. Pitt it must be spoken, that he has been duly sensible of the care taken of his rising years. His instructors have received repeated marks of his acknowledgment. Dr. Wilson, his first instructor, is now canon of Windsor; and one of his sons has a lucrative sinecure in Jamaica. The worthy Dr. Turner is dean of Norwich; Dr. Prettyman has received the Bishopric of Lincoln, and the Deanery of St. Paul's, and will, doubtless, not be be overlooked in future promotions.

He was afterwards entered a student at Lincoln's Inn; and made so rapid a progress in his legal studies, as to be soon called to the bar, with every prospect of great success.

We are informed, that he once or twice went upon the Western circuit, and appeared as junior counsel in several causes. He was, however, destined to fill a more important station in the government of his country, than is usually to be obtained through the channel of the law.

At the general election, 1780, we find him nominated by some of the most respectable persons in Cambridge as a candidate to represent that university; but notwithstanding his high character in the university, he found very few to second his pretensions. In the following year, however, he was returned for the borough of Appleby, by the interest of Sir James Lowther. On taking his seat in the House of Commons, he enlisted himself on the side of the party which had constantly opposed

the minister, Lord North, and the American war, and which regarded him with a degree of veneration; recognising in his person the genius of his illustrious father revived and acting, as it were, in him.

One of his first acts, as a member of the House of Commons, was extremely well calculated to increase his popularity; this was his motion for a committee of the House, to consult upon the most effectual means to accomplish a more equal representation of the people in parliament. His propositions were, indeed, rejected; but he continued to repeat and renew them from time to time; and thus kept up the public attention to this great object, and made it more generally canvassed than it ever had been before.

On the death of the great Marquis of Rockingham, the old Whig party fell into a state of disunion, nearly bordering upon dissolution. A new arrangement took place soon after, and Lord Shelburne became the able first Lord of the Treasury, carrying along with him Mr. Pitt, who astonished the country, and, indeed, all Europe, by the phenomenon of a chancellor of the Exchequer at the age of *twenty-three!*

His popularity at this period effectually screened him from every charge which his youth and inexperience might justly have warranted, and which were strongly urged against him by the adverse faction. The situation of the country was extremely critical. The American war had become generally odious; and all hearts panted for a cessation of hostilities. This desirable object was, therefore, the first consideration with the new ministry.

The combined powers had recently experienced great humiliations, and consequently the opportunity was not to be lost. A general peace accordingly took place; but the terms of it were reprobated by a considerable part of the nation. On this occasion, Mr. Pitt deliver-

ed in his place a most masterly defence of himself and his colleagues, which produced a corresponding, though not successful effect. The administration, of which he was the most distinguished member, was therefore short lived. On its dissolution, the young statesman withdrew into retirement, and afterwards went abroad for some time, visiting Italy, and several of the German courts.

On the coalition's taking place, Mr. Mansfield's seat for the university became vacant, by accepting the office of solicitor-general, and Mr. Pitt determined to oppose him; with this view he went down to Cambridge; but was treated with contempt, by the heads and senior members. One threw the door almost in his face, and wondered at the impudence of the young man, thus to come down and disturb the peace of the university! From such a scene he retired in a few days, in disgust; though the assurances of support from several independent masters of arts, kept alive the few hopes remaining in his breast, of future success. A few months, however, changed the scene; the coalition ministry was thrown out, he came down in triumph to the university, was received with open arms, carried his election with a considerable majority, and was able, also, by his influence, to make Lord Euston his colleague. For a time the tergiversation of the senate was a theme of conversation; the most notorious of the gown who changed their sides, were marked by the contempt of the unsuccessful, but laughed at their own disgrace, under the rewards of the successful candidates; mitres and stalls, and livings, became the portion of the Cambridge men. But few of the independent masters who would have supported him when out of power, and did support him on his accession to the ministry, were to be found among his supporters at the next election; they considered him to have given up those principles of liberty, and that zeal for the reform of parliament, which had, with his great talents, entitled him to their notice.

An occasion, suddenly offered, in 1784, for bringing Mr. Pitt forward once more on the great theatre of politics, as a candidate for fame and power. The British dominions in India had long been in an alarming situation, and it was generally admitted that an immediate remedy was indispensably necessary to preserve them. With this view, Mr. Fox, then Secretary of State, formed, digested, and brought forward his India bill, which he carried through its several stages with a high hand.

The coalition ministry, as composed of such an heterogeneous mixture, notwithstanding their majority in the House of Commons, were generally obnoxious to the nation, and this bill was particularly offensive to the great body whom it immediately affected. Lord North and his new allies were accordingly dismissed, and Mr. Pitt became Premier, assisted by the advice of Lord Thurlow, as keeper of the great seal—arrangements which, at that time, were however, only considered as temporary.

He then astonished the commercial and political world, by his own India bill! He had, however, the mortification to find the majority of the House of Commons against him; and he was placed in the peculiar situation of a minister acting with a small minority, and that too in opposition to the strongest confluence of talents ever combined against any administration. He, however, remained firm in his seat amidst a general confusion; and though the House had petitioned his majesty to dismiss his ministers, our young premier ventured to inform the representatives of the nation that their petition could not be complied with!

This struggle between the commons and the crown was of the greatest importance; but the people at large were of opinion that the former encroached upon the regal prerogatives; and on the question being in a manner thrown into their hands by a dissolution of parliament, a

new one was returned, which changed the majority, and preserved the minister in a post which he has maintained ever since!

Various public measures have, of course, during a period of fourteen years, been brought forward by this active minister; to notice which would far exceed the bounds of a memoir so limited in its object as the present. They are incorporated into the history of his country, and familiarly recollected by his contemporaries.

The commercial treaty with France was a bold scheme, and evinced deep political and mercantile knowledge. But the most critical circumstance in the annals of Mr. Pitt's administration, and that on which his biographer should dwell the most, is the period when the regal powers were, in a manner, unhappily suspended, and all the wisdom of the legislature was required to form a regency. It was a crisis not only novel, but of extreme magnitude, as likely to become the precedent for future times; no such incident having till then occurred in the the annals of our history.

Some statesmen would have worshipped the rising sun. Mr. Pitt and his colleagues, however, pursued a different course, and thereby added greatly to their popularity, and effectually secured themselves in power.

If, on some occasions, he has courted the favour of the people, he certainly has not always sacrificed at their shrine. He appears, indeed, to have a proper conception of the value in which popular esteem is to be held, but to be sensible that it ought not to influence the conduct of a legislator, when it is evidently repugnant to the true interests of the country.

When the revolution took place in France, the situation of the prime minister of this kingdom became once more extremely critical. Perhaps it was fortunate for

the country, that the administration at that time enjoyed the good opinion of both king and people; as violent contentions of party-spirit, at such a juncture, might have led to consequences very injurious to the happy constitutional government of Great Britain.

The situation of Europe has assumed a new face, since the monarchy of France was shaken from its ancient basis. A war has ensued totally different from all former wars. In judging, therefore, of the merits of those who are concerned in managing the affairs of the nation, it is impossible to have recourse either to precedents, or to old political principles. A new mode of action, a new scheme of politics was to be devised, and adapted to the existing circumstances.

If any merit be due to boldness of invention, to vigour of execution, to wide extension of plans, and to firmness and perseverance of conduct, certainly the present administration has an undoubted claim to public gratitude.

An attention to commerce has greatly distinguished Mr. Pitt's administration, particularly during the present contest. Perhaps there is no man in the kingdom better acquainted with the principles of trade than he is. The oldest and most experienced merchants have been astonished at his readiness in conversing with them upon subjects which they thought themselves exclusively masters of. Many who have waited upon him in full confidence that they should communicate some new and important information upon matters of trade, have, to their great surprize, found him minutely and intimately acquainted with all those points to which they conceived he was a stranger. By the close attention which he has uniformly paid to the mercantile interests, he has certainly secured to himself an exclusive basis of support, which has enabled him not only to resist a most vigorous opposition, but to carry into effect financial measures, that till his time, were deemed impracticable.

Some men have charged him with political apostacy, on the ground of his having abandoned, if not opposed, the project of a parliamentary reform. If he really considers such a reform as no longer necessary, it will be difficult to exonerate him from this heavy accusation. But there certainly is a great difference between absolute apostacy, and an occasional cessation from a particular system of opinions or line of conduct. It does not follow that Mr. Pitt is an enemy to necessary reform, because he considers the existing circumstances of the country as too critical to admit the trial of the experiment.

As a public speaker, Mr. Pitt is not to be characterised by overstrained parallels drawn from the orators of antiquity. He possesses more of the elegance and grace of Cicero, than of the fire of Demosthenes. He is, however more of the acute logician, than of the persuasive rhetorician. His voice, though clear and powerful, possesses not the modulations that charm the ear, and steal upon the heart; moreover, he seems incapable of producing any grand effect upon the passions of his auditors, and he is at times extremely careless in his choice of expressions. His language is generally good, but he sometimes descends into vulgarity and incorrectness. All his deficiencies, however, are more than counterbalanced by a conclusive and forcible method of reasoning, by a facility of stating his arguments, which makes them not only conceivable to the meanest understanding, but gives them frequently a precision and vigour which may be pronounced irresistible.

The Premier also possesses an advantage of inestimable value, in a minister of state, namely, a great command over his temper, added to much coolness, during the ardour of debate.

This enables him to reply clearly and particularly to the arguments of his opponents, and to defend his own cause by often turning their own weapons upon them-

selves. Though he is confident, and frequently, it must be confessed, even arrogant in his speeches, which sometimes provokes the opposition orators to use harsh language, yet he seldom loses his own temper, or retorts in anger.

His action is not strictly graceful, which is in some measure owing to the disadvantage of an exterior, which however dignified, is yet not amiably winning, for he is very tall, and deficient in *en bon point*. His countenance is also severe and forbidding, expressive indeed (in the language of physiognomists) of a capacious mind, and inflexible resolution; but also of a too lofty and perhaps unbending spirit.

Mr. Pitt forms in all points a direct contrast to his great political opponent; and it is certainly a curious circumstance, that two such extraordinary men should be as opposite in their private characters as in their public career. In debate Mr. Fox is vehement, Mr. Pitt cool. The one is frank and open, the other close and reserved. The urbanity of the ex-minister gains him friends among all parties, the *hauteur* and *sang froid* of the premier does not conciliate even his associates. Mr. Pitt is the same guarded and unbending politician in his social hours that he is in the House of Commons.

In private life, his sole pleasures are of an official and convivial nature.

Ambition is the ruling and master-passion of his soul, before which every other sinks into insignificance: at the shrine of this goddess, and at that of Bacchus, he is supposed alone to pay his devotions. That his health and talents may not suffer by the latter, and that his country may prosper under the influence of the former, is the earnest wish of the writer of this article.

(1798.)

ERASMUS DARWIN, M. D. F. R. S.

IS the son of a gentleman of landed property, near Newark-upon-Trent. From a country school he was transferred to the university, and entered at St. John's, Cambridge, where, being intended for the practice of medicine, he took the degree of M. B. in 1755 ; and in his thesis defended the opinion that the motion of the heart and arteries are produced by the immediate *stimulus* of the blood.

On the death of the present king's father, when all the men of talents in the nation bewailed the loss of a prince whom they had fondly considered as a second Mæcenas, he contributed to the Cambridge collection of odes and elegies : but his verses on that occasion do not seem to have augured any great chance for celebrity, as they were undistinguished from the exertion of far inferior men, and afforded no great promise of future excellence.

After an education admirably adapted to his intended profession, and a previous degree of M. D. Dr. Darwin determined to practise, and finding the business of the capital, entirely monopolized by a few men of celebrity, brought into notice by the zeal of friends, family connexion, and the recommendation and interest of the great, he determined to settle in the country. Luckily for the city of Litchfield, that place was pitched upon for the scene of his labours, and he resided there for a great number of years. If he still retained a taste for poetry, it was either carefully suppressed, or the favours of the muse concealed ; he, however, distinguished himself as a philosopher and physician, for as far back as 1758, he published in vol. 50 of the Philosophical Transactions, " An Attempt to confute the Opinion of Henry Earle, concerning the Ascent of vapour ; and

" An Account of the Cure of a periodical Hæmopte, by keeping the patient awake." This was followed by " Experiments on Animal fluids in the exhausted receiver."

In the mean time, he had bred his son Charles, a promising young man, to his own profession, and sent him to Edinburgh, at that time, as now, the great European school of physic. There he was unfortunately carried off by a fever, at the very time he was enquiring into the nature and cure of diseases, before he had attained the 20th year of his age! To the sorrowing father was left the mournful task of being the editor of his posthumous work; and he accordingly published in 1780, " Experiments establishing a Criterion between Mucilaginous and Purulent Matter: And an Account of the Retrograde Motions of the Absorbent Vessels of Animal Bodies in some diseases."

In 1782, the Botanical society of Litchfield published Linnæus's " System of Vegetables," which is thought to have been chiefly the production of Dr. Darwin, one of its two principal members.

Early in 1789, Dr. Darwin, enlisted again by science in the train of the Muses, burst forth like a comet in the hemisphere of poetry, by the publication of the " Botanical Garden;" Part II.* of which, containing " the Loves of the Plants," then made its first appearance. The idea of the sexual system had long before been elucidated by the great Swedish naturalist; and it indeed seems to have been coeval with, and most probably, long anterior to, Claudian:

" Vivunt in Venerem frondes; nemus omne per altum,
" Felix arbor amat; nutant ad mutua Palmæ
" Fædera, populeo suspiret Populus ictu,
" Et Platani Platanis, Alnoque affibelat Alnus."

* Four editions of this volume, and three of the second have been already published.

The poem consists of four cantos; the three first of which are followed by a dialogue, and the preface contains a summary of the Linnæan arrangement. The intention of this part of the work is to render an attachment to Botanical studies at once more common and more delightful.

" Botanic Muse! who, in his latter age,
" Led by your airy hand the Swedish sage,
" Bade his keen eye your secret haunts explore,
" On dewy dell, high wood, and sounding shore;
" Say on each leaf, how tiny Graces dwell;
" How laugh the Pleasures in a blossom's bell;
" How insect loves arise on cobweb wings,
" Aim their light shafts, and point their little stings"

The scientific turn of the notes, and the agreeable medium of the poetry,* excited an uncommon degree of curiosity for the publication of Part I. containing " the Economy of Vegetation," which, on account of some experiments, was delayed until 1791. On this occasion he recurs to Lucretius;

" It Ver, et Venus; et Veneris prænuncius ante
" Pennatus Graditur Zephyrus Vestigia prôpter,
" Flora quibus mater, præ spergens ante Viai
" Cuncta coloribus egregiis et odoribus opplet."

At the beginning of Canto I. the genius of the place, the scenery of which is borrowed from a garden, about a mile from Litchfield, where a cold bath was erected by

* Some of the lines are peculiarly expressive, such as

" On her fair bosom sits the Demon ape
" Erect, and balances his bloated shape;
" *Rolls in their marble orbs his gorgon-eyes,*
" *And drinks with leathern ears her tender cries.*"

The " vampire wings" of the Ague, " the young wonder," with which the cherubs, while riding on their little reeds,

" ——————touch the sliding snail
" *Admire his eye-tipped horns, and painted mail, &c.*

are expressions peculiar felicitous.

Sir John Floyer, solicits the appearance of the goddess who presides over botany, who, on her descent, is received by Spring and the Elements. Then follows the explosion of chaos, the revolution of the stars, the appearance of lightning, the rain-bow, luminous flowers, the glow-worm, fire-fly, electric-eel, medusa, steam-engine, &c.

The following lines deserve great praise; and not the least merit is, that posterior discoveries seem to be fast realizing the predictions of the poet:

" Soon shall thy arm, UNCONQUER'D STEAM! afar
" Drag the slow barge, or drive the rapid car;
" Or on wide-waving wings, expanded bear
" Thy flying chariot through the fields of air.
" ———Fair crews triumphant leaning from above,
" Shall wave their flutt'ring 'kerchiefs as they move;
" Or warrior-bands alarm the gaping crowd,
" And armies shrink beneath the shadowy cloud.
" So mighty Hercules o'er many a clime
" Wav'd his huge mace in Virtue's cause sublime,
" Unmeasur'd strength with early art combin'd,
" Aw'd, serv'd, protected, and amaz'd mankind.——'
" First" &c.

The second Canto commences with an address to the Gnomes. We then find the earth thrown from a volcano of the sun; its atmosphere, ocean, and journey through the zodiac are described. We then hear of primeval islands, paradise, or the golden age; the first great earthquakes, continents raised from the sea, &c.

The third, and last Canto, commences with an address to the Nymphs; next follows the theory of rain, and of tides; an account of marine animals, rivers, boiling fountains in Iceland, and warm medicinal springs, such as Buxton, &c. &c.

It is easy to perceive, in this very interesting performance, that Dr. Darwin has had recourse to the Rosicrucian machinery, in his "Botanic Garden," for the same reason that Pope adopted it, in his celebrated poem of "the Rape of the Lock." In the formation of the planets, he employs the doctrines of Buffon; in his natural history, he bends at the shrine of the Swede, while he follows the new doctrines respecting air, from the Priestleian and Lavoiserian systems.

A deep attention to botany, and a thorough conviction of the advantages arising from system, induced Dr. Darwin to turn his mind towards the improvement of his own profession, and to become, as it were, the Linnæus of Medicine. Impreſſed with this novel idea, in the beginning of 1794 he published the first volume of his "Zoonomia, or the Laws of Organic Life," in which, leaving his former work in possession of the vegetable world, he proposes "to reduce the facts "belonging to animal life into classes, orders, genera, "and species, and by comparing them with each other, "to unravel the theory of diseases."

Much preliminary matter is given in separate sections, respecting the immediate organs of sense; and an able theory of ideas follows. We next meet with the laws of animal *causation*, and an exemplification of the transitions of irritative into sensative, and of sensative into voluntary motions; on this occasion, we find a dissertation on *unperceived ideas*, and learn, "that all "our perceptions are ideas excited by irritation, and "succeeded by sensation." Respecting the doctrines of *stimulus* and *exertion*, the author is a great advocate for the system of the late unfortunate Dr. Brown, which he ably and amply elucidates and explains.

Proceeding in an ascending ratio, he considers sleep and revery, giddiness and drunkenness; with an account of the diseases arising from the last of these, &c. &c.

In 1796, vol. II. made its appearance; and as the former may be considered as strictly theoretical, this contains a practical application of the principles, and is divided into two grand sections: containing, first, the nature and cure of particular diseases; and, secondly, the operation of medicines.

Of this work, it has been said by a celebrated professor of the medical art, that the "Zoonomia bids fair to "do for physic, what the Principia of Sir Isaac Newton "has done for natural philosophy:" after this, it would be folly to add our mite of praise.

Dr. Darwin now resides at Derby, where he enjoys an extensive practice, and universal esteem. While his ample and capacious mind grasps the grandest operations of nature, he can yet condescend to comparatively infinite subjects, provided they be connected with human happiness. A proof of this exists in the attention lately paid by him to a subject in which the dearests interests of society are involved—the education of females—or the best means of making affectionate daughters, good wives, and tender mothers!

(1798)

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS,

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE WAR DEPARTMENT, &c. &c.

HENRY DUNDAS is descended from a younger branch of a * family, long eminent among the petty Barons of Lothian. During the greater part of the last century his immediate ancestors were distinguished as the most able advocates at the Scottish bar, and rose to the highest offices and richest emoluments which the law can bestow.

His father even at an early period of his career, was pronounced by President Dalrymple, to have outshone all the competitors of his own day, in the lists of juridical contest. His eldest brother, the late Lord President Dundas, after shining as the first lawyer at the bar, was exalted to the bench, amidst the shouts of general approbation; and it is still remembered, with what august dignity, what a force and clearness of argument, he administered justice for a long series of years at the head of the supreme civil court of Scotland.

Henry, being a younger son, by a second marriage, was destined to seek his fortune in some professional pursuit, and he very naturally chose that in which his family had been so successful. At an early period of life he was called to the Scottish bar, and quickly attained some distinction among the junior advocates. In compliance with the custom of the young Scottish lawyers, he attempted to distinguish himself, by adopting the popular eloquence of the general assembly of the church of Scotland, of which he became a member. With very flattering success, he declaimed on the subject of patronage; disputed about forms and precedents; and strove sometimes to allay, sometimes to excite, those

* The Dundas's of Arniston.

storms to which even that venerable body is now and then subject.

A fortunate marriage with the heiress of Melville, soon made him a considerable landholder, and his success at the bar augmented daily. If his pleadings were deficient in grace, elegance and correctness, and his speeches unadorned by those happy illusions which polite literature can alone furnish; they were, at least, rich in that most valuable ingredient common sense, enlivened with wit, pregnant with sound juridical discrimination, and accompanied with apparent sincerity and much honest frankness of manner.

In the intercourse of private life, he was amiable, convivial, no foe to dissipation, but of a spirit incapable of descending to any of the mean and ungenerous vices. In good company he would drink deep; and in affairs of gallantry, he is reported to have occasionally indulged, even to excess. The domestic misfortune that ensued is known to all the world, and it might appear indelicate here to dwell upon the subject.

One of the first admirers of Mr. Dundas's talents in early life, was the late *Lord Kaimes*, who dedicated to him his excellent work, entitled "principles of Equity;" and on that occasion anticipated his future success.

Neither the gaities of dissipation, nor the chagrin attendant on a family misfortune, could divert Mr. Dundas from vigorously pursuing that career of professional success which had opened before him. He rapidly attained the rank of one of the first lawyers at the Scottish bar; and his own merits, added to the influence of his family, soon recommended him to the notice of the crown: in fine, he became, in a short time, Lord Advocate for Scotland; and neither his talents nor his juridical skill were deemed unworthy of the office.

It had been usual with his predecessors, to procure a seat in the British House of Commons; and Mr. Dun-

das also contrived to get a niche at the back of the treasury-bench. His pronunciation and phraseology were so replete with the peculiarities of the northern dialect, which has not yet ceased to prevail at the Scottish bar, as to excite a degree of ridicule against his speeches in the senate, which would have proved unfavourable to the success of almost any other person. But Mr. Dundas was not to be daunted by common obstacles. He had enough of the lawyer about him to qualify him for legislative business, without his mind being narrowed by pedantry, or his eloquence too finically cast after that model which is peculiarly fitted to the bar, but becomes tedious and even ridiculous, amidst national deliberations. He was quickly able to make himself master of all the *forms* of public business, a species of knowledge so dry, so difficult, so infinitely useful in parliament, so utterly useless every where else. In a short time, he took an active part in every debate, and possessed great advantage, by utterly despising that primness, preciseness, and rigour of morality, which teaches man to embrace *the right*, in opposition to *the expedient*. Nor did he ever affect to aspire to that purity of patriotism, which refuses to connect self-interest with duty. He thus speedily obtained an almost unrivalled pre-eminence; the artifices, the negociations, the masterly overreachings of political intrigue, were some of the qualifications which soon appeared to compose the public character of Henry Dundas: and it must be owned, they would not be ill fitted, in a degenerate age, to conduct him to eminence.

The extent of dominion, the immense wealth, and the great political establishments of the East-India Company in Asia, had about this time begun to appear too great for a simple commercial corporation. The amazing fortunes acquired by their servants, had also provoked the most jealous enquiries into the arts by which such opulence could be so rapidly accumulated, and oriental influence was but two plainly discovered in the very bosom of the legislature. Mr. D. soon perceived, that

a member of the House of Commons might gain much by turning his attention to the affairs of India which came before that House. In the case of Rumbold and some others, he shewed himself to be unequalled in tracing the detail of Asiatic delinquency. In the public revolutions that speedily ensued, he was eagerly courted by all parties; and was generally allowed to be deserving of any of the primary places in the government. His enemies have said, that, being then a needy political adventurer, he found it necessary to choose his side, from a regard to personal interest: and that the laxity of his principles rendered him sufficiently ready to change his party, on the approach of ill fortune. Now the man of North; now the man of Fox; he found himself at last the fast friend, the ministerial coadjutor, and, as they say, the convivial tutor of Mr. PITT.

Mr. Dundas's alliance with the last of these, fixed him in the rich office of Treasurer to the Navy; and during the infancy of Mr. P's administration, his counsels and parliamentary services tended not a little to ensure its stability. In short, all the measures of the British government since the year 1782, have in a great degree, been directed, or at least influenced, by him.

Since he obtained an official employment in the administration, Mr. Dundas has enjoyed one peculiar advantage, which is rather of a singular sort—that of never having attained the reputation of political integrity. Mr. Pitt, and other men who have used the ladder of patriotism in scaling the heights of ministerial power, on being obliging to abandon those popular principles which helped them to ascend, have, by their apostacy, provoked the abhorrence of the people, by whom they were once adored. But this great northern commoner, having never obtained much credit with the world in this respect, has rather risen than fallen in the estimation of his country, during the course of his administration.

Of all the measures that have lately occurred, there is perhaps, no one which will be more unfavourably view-

ed by the candid and benevolent in future times, than the commencement of the present hostilities with France. But, whatever may be said of the merits or demerits of those ministerial arts which engaged Britain in the contest, it must be confessed that in many of the measures which the war-minister is supposed to have suggested, such as that for the internal defence of the country, there appears much of that vigilance, energy, and vigour, which we have been forced to admire in the revolutionary rulers of the continent.

Mr. Dundas has also the good fortune to obtain the confidence of the Dukes of Buccleugh, Gordon, and Lord Hopetoun, and so many of the other leading peers and landholders of the North, that it would not be easy to find another ministerial director of Scottish affairs, whose agency would be equally acceptable to the great people of that country.

His personal friends, who are numerous, and doubtless the best judges of his real character, are greatly attached to him. They consider him as the only practical man in the cabinet, and think that either his retreat, or his death, would be attended with the most melancholy events on the part of the nation.

On the other hand, his enemies, who are implacable, as considering him the author of all our present calamities, and the accomplice of our former ones during the American war, entertain very different sentiments. The very mildest of them assert, that the best wish that can be breathed, in favour of him on his country, is, either that he may be enabled quickly to retire from the toils of his political career, or be speedily called, by Divine Providence, to the enjoyment of another and better world.

The few who are of no party may consider him as an honest and respectable private character, and as an active, zealous, and loyal statesman.

(1798)

JOHN WOLCOTT, M. D.

THIS gentleman, better known by his poetical appellation of *Peter Pindar*, is a native of that part of Devonshire which has been called the Garden of England. He was educated, we believe, at Kingsbridge, near which he was born. The schoolmaster of that town, an exceeding good scholar, and a man of most amiable manners, was a quaker.

The uncle of our bard being a single man, and established at Fowey, in Cornwall, as an apothecary, took his nephew when young, with a view to his succeeding him in his business. Here he acquired a tolerable share of medical knowledge; and was in great esteem with his kinsman, and the neighbourhood. At his liesure hours he cultivated his mind by the perusal of the best modern writers; and improved himself considerably in the art of drawing, to which he shewed an early propensity.

On the appointment of Sir William Trelawny to be Governor of Jamaica, about the year 1769, Mr. Wolcott felt a strong inclination to accompany him, especially as that gentleman was a distant relation of his own, and a great friend to the family. He accordingly pressed his uncle not only to give his assent to the project, but also to solicit the favour from Sir William.

The old gentleman was at first extremely concerned at this turn in his nephew's mind. It was a complete overthrow of his favourite scheme respecting him, and it was moreover depriving himself of a most useful assistant. Remonstrances however were vain; and therefore, with the greatest good nature, he waited upon the governor, and obtained the favour that the young adventurer should make one in his suite.

In the voyage the ship touched at Madeira, where Peter, enchanted with the beauties which Nature so luxuriantly exhibits in that island, wrote some exquisite sonnets. On his arrival at Jamaica, he commenced surgeon, with which he blended the practice of his physic, and was actually nominated physician general to the island. A circumstance however occurred that diverted him for some time from his medical career, and threw him into the arms of a profession for which few men were less qualified.

The incumbent of the most valuable living in Jamaica happened to pay the last tribute to nature long after the Doctor settled there. Whether his practice had not been sufficiently lucrative, or what other motive possessed him, we know not, but certain it is, he looked upon the vacant rectory with a wishful eye. As there was no clergyman at hand to supply the place of the deceased, the physician of the body commenced physician of the soul, and actually officiated for a considerable time in this capacity, reading the prayers of the church of England, and preaching occasionally.

Fearing, at length, that he should be superseded, by a regular minister properly instituted to the living, the Doctor set out for England, carrying with him strong letters of recommendation to the Bishop of London, that he might not only be ordained but also be appointed to the church which he had served.

But though his application was backed pretty strongly by some very considerable friends in England, the Bishop refused to admit him, on the ground, we believe, of his having presumed to perform the ministerial duties without being properly licensed thereto.

In consequence of this disappointment, the Doctor declined revisiting his patients and parishioners in the West-Indies; but having previously obtained the degree of M. D. from one of the Scotch universities, he went

down to the place of his former residence, and after living there some time, removed to Truro, where he practised for several years as a physician, with great credit and success. About this time his uncle died, and left him nearly 2000*l.*

The doctor's satirical vein shewed itself on various occasions in Cornwall; particularly on some humorous jokes, which he played off upon the late Mr. Rosewarne, of Truro, and other gentlemen of the neighbourhood. He was also engaged in some troublesome and expensive law-suits; one of which was with the corporation of Truro, relative to their right of putting upon him a parish apprentice. In consequence of these disputes, he found that part of the world disagreeable, and therefore resolved to quit it for a sphere more congenial to his talents and disposition.

During his residence in this county, the Doctor had an opportunity of bringing forward to the world an eminent natural genius, who otherwise might have been buried in total oblivion, or at the most have been a sign-painter in his native country. The person we allude to was JOHN OPIE, whose rude drawings in common chalk, especially likenesses, our Doctor viewed with some curiosity and admiration in his rides through the village of St. Anne, where Opie was a parish apprentice to one Wheeler, a house-carpenter.

These drawings were so superior to what could be expected in such a place, and from such a person, that the physician was induced to become his instructor and his patron. He accordingly furnished him with materials, and gave him lessons, by which he profited in a manner that surprised and delighted the benevolent tutor. Having made a rapid progress, Opie went to Exeter, where he acquired some knowledge of oil painting. From that city he removed to London, and under Sir Joshua Reynolds, became one of the most eminent artists of the age.

We are sorry to remark, however, that a violent misunderstanding took place during some years between the doctor and his pupil, and from what we can learn, the cause originated in the forgetfulness with which the latter affected to treat his obligations to the former.

Of the Doctor's poetical productions while he was engaged in the practice of physic, we have seen only one specimen: but that is an excellent one, and we trust our readers will be pleased with us for inserting it in this place.

In the year 1776, when Mr. Polwhele well known by his various publications, was at Truro-school he had given to him for an evening exercise, to be translated into English, the following beautiful Latin Epigram on sleep:

Somne levis, quamquem certissima mortis imago,
Consortem cupio te, tamen esse tori:
Alma quies, optata veni; nam, sic, sine vitâ
Vivere, quam suave est; sic, sine morte, mori.

Of this epigram the doctor was requested to give a translation, which he produced in a few minutes as follows:

Come, gentle sleep, attend thy vot'ry's prayer,
And tho' death's image to my couch repair,
How sweet, thus lifeless, yet with life to lie,
Thus, without dying, O how sweet to die!

Our author's first literary production was an "*Epistle to the Reviewers*," 4to. 1782, a truly laughable piece of satire, and certainly discharged against fair game. His next performance was "*Lyric Odes to the Royal Academicians*," 1785, in which is a happy mixture of wit, taste, and elegance, but at the same time it must be allowed, that a want of candour distinguishes

the criticisms, and particularly with respect to the paintings of Mr. West.

In the year following, he published another set of odes to the members of the Royal Academy, bearing the same characteristics. About the same time he produced a performance of more originality and boldness. This was the *Lousiad*, a mock heroic poem, abounding in wit, humour, and strength.

The foundation on which our satirist erected this lively piece, was this:—His Majesty one evening at supper observed a human hair upon his plate, among some green peas. This offensive object occasioned a decree to be issued forth, that all the cooks, scullions, &c. in the royal kitchen, should have their heads shaved. Great murmurings were excited by this mandate; but the law, like that of the Medes and Persians, was irrevocable.

On this incident, Peter formed his exquisite production; only changing the hair, by virtue of the *licentia poetica*, to a living animal.

His next production was an epistle to JAMES BOSWELL, Esq. the self-sufficient attendant upon Dr. Johnson to the Hebrides. This was followed by "BOZZI and PIOZZI," in which the folly of tittle tattle biographers is exposed in the happiest manner.

The greatest success attended our author's publications. Never did any satirist display such various excellence. Those who disapproved his sentiments, and were offended at his freedom and want of respect for authority, could not read his poems with unmoved muscles. To give a catalogue of his numerous writings would be needless. There can be no occasion to specify at length what is universally known, and as universally admired. Though our author has shone most conspicuously as a satirist, and here indeed his splendour has been of an extraordinary brilliancy, yet the

reader of his sonnets will sometimes be disposed to regret his having devoted so much of his time and genius to temporary and personal subjects.

The admirers of poetical elegance may laugh at our bard's pleasant tales and whimsical descriptions; but they will feel a more exquisite sensation on reading the tender and sentimental effusions of his pen.

The Doctor, we understand, lately superintended a new edition of Pilkington's Dictionary of painters, to which he made some additions. Before we conclude, it may not be amiss to remark, that in his conversation our satirist does not exhibit either that facetiousness or acerbity which are so eminently displayed in his works.

Neither ought we to finish this article without observing, that Messrs. Robinsons, Golding, and Walker, agreed, in 1795, to pay Dr. W. an annuity of 240l. per annum, for the copy-right of his works. Unfortunately, owing to some obscurity in drawing up the agreement, it has been contended by one party, that it implies only those of the poet *already* published, while the others wish to include all that may hereafter be given to the world, by the facetious Peter.

We are sorry to add, that an action at common law, has been succeeded by a chancery suit; and without entering into the merits of a question, on which some future Chancellor may decide, in the course of the *nineteenth century*, we most cordially recommend an amicable adjustment, and immediate compromise to all parties. What a pity, that the rapacious harpies of the law should be permitted to swallow up the patrimony of the Muses!

Our poet, we believe, once more practises as a physician. Lately recovered from an *asthma*, he has acquired an intimate acquaintance with the theory of that disease,

and is himself a living instance, that with skilful management it is not fatal, even in its last and worst stages. He has also minutely investigated the structure of that delicate organ, the human ear.

This is a species of knowledge neither to be obtained on the summit of Parnassus, nor drawn from the fountain of Hippocrene ; but there is a certain universality in genius, which, indeed, constitutes one of its chief characteristics.

(1798.)

WILLIAM HERSCHEL, LL. D. F. R. S.

THIS country has the fairest right to enrol the subject of the present article in the number of her ornaments, as his extraordinary abilities have been brought into action, strengthened, and properly directed, under the auspices of the British sovereign.

Dr. William Herschel is a native of Hanover, and was born November 15, 1738. He was the second of four sons, all of whom were brought up to their father's profession, which was that of a musician. In addition to these, Mr. Herschel, senior, had two daughters; and therefore burdened with so large a family, and in a poor country too, it is not at all a matter of wonder that the education which he bestowed on his children was but scanty. Finding, however, in William a lively and inquisitive genius, beyond what appeared in the other sons, he gave him the advantage of a French master, under whom he made a rapid progress in the attainment of that language. Luckily, the tutor had a metaphysical head, and so fond was he of his favourite study, as well as those branches of science which are connected with it, that he was desirous of making his pupil acquainted therewith. From this worthy man young Herschel gained a tolerable knowledge of logic, ethics, and metaphysics; and his attainments therein excited in his mind a strong and insatiable thirst for learning, with the commendable resolution of exerting himself to the utmost to improve his stock of intellectual treasures. These, indeed, were all his inheritance, except a musical instrument, and some manuscript music. With this store, unpromising as it was, our adventurer bade adieu to his native country while the flames of war were spreading around it, and arrived in London in the year 1759. Here he was lost in the crowd of candidates for employ-

ment, and we may well suppose that his situation in a strange country, without friends, and in but indifferent circumstances, must have been both painful and irksome. Mr. Herschel had not only a steady but a virtuous mind. Hereby he was enabled not only to bear up with fortitude against disappointments, but to persevere with alacrity in improving himself in an occupation, which hardly seemed to promise him a comfortable subsistence.

Finding but little prospect of succeeding to his wish in the metropolis, he prudently resolved upon going into the country ; where musical profeffors being few, the chance of success must be the greater. After visiting different places in the north of England, his good fortune brought him to Halifax, where an organist being wanted, his merits were tried, and he procured the appointment. Here he also taught music with approbation and profit. The love of learning still prevailed, and at this place he devoted his spare hours to the study of the languages, beginning with the Italian, on account of its intimate connection with his profession. From the Italian he proceeded to the Latin, in which he made an eminent progress. He then attempted the Greek, but, after a little application, he abandoned the study of this language, considering it as too dry and abstracted for his purpose.

In these pursuits, Mr. Herschel was entirely self-taught ; and he holds out, in consequence, an excellent and pertinent example to those young persons whose education has been circumscribed within common limits, through the penury or narrow-mindedness of their friends.

A determined heart, and persevering application, we see, from this instance, will overcome obstacles that are apparently insurmountable.

But it was not to the dead and living languages only that Mr. Herschel bent his ardent and resolute mind.

He attempted to gain a knowledge of the most abstruse sciences. His first effort was to make himself master of the *theory of harmonies;* and it is observable, that the book which he made choice of for this purpose, was no other than the profound and intricate treatise of the learned Dr. Smith upon that subject. He got through this work, however, without any assistance; and so great was the pleasure which he derived from it, that he resolved upon studying the other branches of mathematical learning. He began with algebra, which he soon mastered; thence he proceeded to Euclid, and so on to fluxions. The ground-work being thus laid, the study of the other sciences became easy.

His situation at Halifax was favourable to his grammatical and mathematical pursuits; and it is well that he thus laid in a thorough stock of sound knowledge in what may be called his retirement. In 1766 he exchanged this place for one of a very different description, being elected organist to the Octagon chapel at Bath. Here he entered at once upon a great round of professional business, performing at the rooms, theatre, oratorios, and public and private concerts, besides having a great number of pupils. In such a hurry of employment, and in the immediate circle of luxury and amusement, very few men of Mr. Herschel's profession and age would have found time to pursue studies seemingly so unprofitable and uninteresting as mathematics.

So far, however, from relaxing in his scientific studies, he pursued them with increasing ardour, and after a day of hard labour, he commonly retired at night to his mathematical books, and spent many hours in an unwearied attention to the most abstruse questions in geometry and fluxions.

In the Ladies' Diary, for 1780, appeared an elegant and profound answer by him to a very difficult prize question, respecting the vibrations of a musical chord, loaded in the middle with a small weight.

About this time his studies were chiefly directed to optics and astronomy. The pleasure which he had experienced from viewing the heavens through a two-feet Gregorian telescope, which he borrowed at Bath, made him desirous of possessing a complete set of astronomical instruments. His first object was to get a larger telescope; and being ignorant of the price at which such instruments are usually charged, he desired a friend in London to buy one for him. This gentleman, surprised at the sum demanded for the telescope, declined purchasing it till he had informed Mr. Herschel of the circumstance. Our astronomer's astonishment was equal to that of his friend's; but instead of dropping his pursuit, he formed what many would have regarded as a most romantic resolution, that of making a telescope for himself. He did not content himself with a speculative idea, but from the scanty instructions he could gather out of optical treatises, actually set about this arduous undertaking. Disappointment succeeded disappointment; but all this only served to act as a stimulus to his ardent mind, and at length his perseverance was crowned with such success, that, in 1774, he enjoyed the exquisite satisfaction of beholding the heavens through a five-feet Newtonian reflector, of his own workmanship. Our modern Galileo did not rest at this attainment, great as it was, but, with a laudable ambition, set about making instruments of a greater magnitude than had hitherto been known. After constructing those of seven, and even ten feet, he thought of forming one not less than double the latter size. So great was his patience, so determined his perseverance, that, in perfecting the parabolical figure of a seven-feet telescope, he did not make less than two hundred specula before he obtained one that would bear any power that was applied to it.

While he was thus laboriously employed in his mathematical pursuits, he did not neglect the immediate duties of his profession. Yet so much did his new occupation engage his mind, that he has frequently stolen from the theatre or the concert-room, to look at the stars,

and then return again in time to bear his part among the musical performers. This constancy to Urania was at length most bountifully rewarded, by the discovery of a new planet in our system, to which he gave the name of *Georgium Sidus;* but which foreign astronomers have generally termed *Herschel.*

This important discovery was made in the night of the 13th of March, 1781. It was by no means a mere accidental circumstance which favoured our astronomer with the view of this planet; but the result of a regular, patient, and scientific chain of observations. When he first saw it, he was not quite certain that it belonged to our system; but a closer enquiry enabled him to ascertain with exactness its planetary disk, as well as its motion.

This discovery was communicated the same year to the Royal Society; and in consequence of it, Mr. Herschel was unanimously elected a member, and had the annual gold medal bestowed upon him for his service to the interests of science.

The year following his Majesty took him under his immediate patronage, and constituted him his astronomer, with a handsome pension. On this he quitted Bath, and his musical instruments, and went to live at Slough, near Windsor, at a house appointed for him by his royal master.

Here he was enabled to carry on his projects with vigour and those which had hitherto failed of success, were now brought to perfection. While at Bath, he had formed the bold scheme of constructing a telescope of thirty feet, and actually made several trials to carry his object into effect. But though he failed there, since his residence at Windsor, he has far exceeded this design, and completed an instrument of no less than forty! The irregularities in the speculum, and the impossibility of rendering the parts of so enormous an instrument as this

mathematically exact, have hitherto prevented his being able to make any actual observations with it. It is a vulgar error, that the discoveries of Dr. Herschel have been occasioned by the enormous magnifying power of his telescope; the fact is, that no such large power is necessary, or useful; and that all Dr. Herschel's discoveries have been made with reflectors of from ten to twenty feet, and with powers of from sixty to three hundred. His discoveries are to be ascribed to his laudible perseverance, and not to the size of his great telescope, which is rather an object of curiosity than of utility.

In 1783, he discovered a volcanic mountain in the moon, and in 1787 made further observations upon that planet, and found two others therein, which emitted fire from their summits. In prosecuting his enquiries respecting his own planet (if we may be allowed so to express ourselves) he has discovered it to be surrounded with rings, and to have six satellites.

For all these important additions to the stock of national knowledge, our astronomer had the honour of receiving from the university of Oxford the degree of a Doctor of Laws; which is the more creditable, as that learned body is very sparing of its academic honours upon persons who have not been educated within its walls.

Dr. Herschel has been a regular contributor to the Philosophical Transactions ever since his first communication in 1781, respecting his discovery of the new planet. Some of his papers are extremely curious; and he has hazarded a few bold conjectures respecting the sun, and other planetary bodies, which would hardly have been received from a less accurate observer.

In his astronomical pursuits the doctor is materially assited by his sister, Miss Caroline Herschel, who has distinguished herself greatly by her application to this sublime study, and has communicated to the Royal So-

ciety some very ingenious reports of observations made by her upon the starry orbs.

Dr. Herschel is a man of unassuming manners, a free, communicative, and pleasant companion; and enjoys that vigour of constitution which is so essential to an astronomical observer in a climate like that of England. It may be hoped, that his name will endure as long as the planetary system, to illustrate which he has devoted his life.

(1798)

THE MARQUIS CORNWALLIS.

THE subject of this memoir has acted with success in the character of a statesman as well as a soldier. Like the Roman consuls of old, he has received and dispatched ambassadors; he has declared war, and granted peace. He fought for the preservation of an empire in America; he retained and enlarged the British dominions in Asia; and, in Europe, he has humbled the enemies of his country, and, by his energy and humane policy, has crushed a civil war in the bud.

Marquis Cornwallis, whose family is very ancient and honourable, was born December 31ſt, 1738, and seems to have been intended from his cradle for the army. He accordingly entered into the service at a very early age, and we find him in 1758, when only twenty years old, and at a period when promotions were less rapid than at present, a Captain in Colonel Crauford's light infantry, under the title of *Lord Broome*. Three years after this, he accompanied the Marquis of Grandby to the continent, in the honourable and confidential capacity of one of his *Aids-de-Camp*, and was of course attendant on the person of that gallant nobleman during the campaign. It was thus, in the fields of Germany, and under the most skilful and celebrated generals of the day, that Lord Broome acquired the rudiments of the art of war, and prepared himself to command others, by first learning to obey.

In 1761, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel of the twelfth regiment of foot; and we then find him discharging his civil as well as military duties, by sitting as a representative in Parliament for the Borough of Rye.

On the death of his father, who was the fifth peer of his family, in 1762, he, of course, vacated his seat in the House of Commons, and appeared in the House of Peers, under the title of Lord Cornwallis. In 1765, he was nominated one of the lords of the bed-chamber; and about the same time, was honoured with the appointment of *Aid-de-camp* to his present Majesty, which was tantamount to a promotion in the army.

His spirit, however, was manly and independent. The favours of the crown did not make him forget the duties of the peerage; for he voted frequently against the minister, and sometimes adopted what is called the *popular side* of the question; in particular, when the memorable bill for securing the legislative power of Great Britain over the American colonies was introduced into the upper house, Lord Cornwallis was one of the five who refused their consent. This feeble, but respectable opposition, was headed by the venerable Earl Camden.* He also, on another remarkable occasion, entered his protest against the question to vote away privilege in matters of libel.

Luckily for the nation, his political did not interfere with his military career; for, in 1766, he was promoted to the command of the thirty-third regiment of foot, which he still holds; and two years afterwards, married Miss Jemima Tulikens Jones, daughter of James Jones, Esq. whose singular succession to a large fortune is related at large in the memoirs of the facetious Tate Wilkinson. With this lady, who brought him two children (a son and a daughter), he enjoyed every felicity the connubial state is capable of yielding, until he was called on to embark with his regiment for America. On this occasion, Lady Cornwallis, inconsolable at the idea of parting from him, after urging every plea that affection

* Lord Mansfield rallied his Lordship on this occasion, on account of the youth of his associates. "Poor Camden!" said the Chief Justice, "Could you only get four boys to support you?"

could suggest, applied to his uncle, then Archbishop of Canterbury, who, at her request, procured the King's leave of absence. But, notwithstanding all the fondness of the husband, duty prevailed over affection, and a nice sense of honour urged her dearly beloved lord to forsake her. The separation was, however, too much for her weak nerves to bear; she literally fell a prey to love, sunk beneath the weight of her grief, and died; thus affording a most singular and romantic instance of conjugal affection!

Shortly after his arrival in America, we find his lordship serving under Sir William Howe, with the rank of Major-general, and acting as an able and indefatigable partisan.—Having landed, in November, 1776, on the Jersey shore, at the head of a detached corps, and found Fort Lee evacuated, he instantly penetrated into the country, and took possession of the province. At the end of the campaign, he repaired to New-York, with a view to embark for Great-Britain; but having received advice of the disastrous affair of Trenton, with the unpremeditated gallantry of a soldier, he deferred his voyage, and returned to the Jerseys.

His Lordship's first enterprize in 1777, was an attempt to surprise an American post in his neighbourhood, in which he in part succeeded. Soon after this, he received orders from General Howe to abandon the Jerseys, and in July he embarked with the English commander-in-chief in the expedition to the Chesapeak.

This was not a contest in which large armies contended with each other, and in which the fate of a battle was to decide the lot of an empire. On the contrary, it was what the French term a *petite guerre;* a war of posts and of skirmishes, of night marches and surprises, in which the climate and the sword cut off thousands, without putting a period to hostilities. It is in vain, therefore, to expect any very splendid achievements on

so narrow a field of enterprize, when it is recollected that both armies would have scarcely constituted an advanced guard to a continental general, in the conflicts we have so recently witnessed.

In several of the subsequent events, his lordship took a very active part. He commanded a considerable body of troops at the passage of the Brandywine, and after driving the enemy before him, entered and took possession of Philadelphia, on the 24th of September, 1777. This was then considered a very important acquisition; but it was soon discovered, that a country might be over-run without being subjugated, and that the possession even of a province, does not always depend on securing the capital.

From that period until 1779, when he embarked as a Lieutenant General with Sir Henry Clinton for the siege of Charleston, he seems to have had few opportunities of signalizing himself. On the surrender of the place, the command of South Carolina, with about 4000 troops, devolved upon him. On hearing this, General Gates, who had rendered himself so famous by the capture of Burgoyne and his army at Saratoga, took post near Camden, where he had collected about 3,600 men. Lord Cornwallis, instead of being daunted at this event, advanced with an inferior force; and on the morning of the 16th of October, a severe action took place, which was soon decided by the spirit of the British troops, who, after a smart fire, had recourse to their bayonets; and the Americans having at length given way, were pursued nearly twenty miles. Seven pieces of cannon, the greater part of the baggage, and a thousand prisoners, constituted the trophies of this day.

Early in 1781, General Arnold, who had now relinquished both the cause and the service of his native country, had landed in the Chesapeak, where he did considerable mischief to his former associates. Lord Cornwallis, on hearing of this, determined to effect a

junction with him, in order to overwhelm the Marquis La Fayette, since so much celebrated for his patriotism and sufferings during the French revolution, as commander-in-chief of the national guards.

Accordingly, having dispatched the gallant Colonel (now the patriot General) Tarleton with the cavalry, and Colonel Simcoe having been sent forward by Arnold, with the Queen's rangers, they took possession of the fords on the Nottoway and the Meherrin, the only rivers that intervened; and a junction accordingly took place between the two armies at Petersburgh, on the 20th of May. Immediately after this, the British army crossed James-river, at Westover, in pursuit of the French commander, who by this time had decamped from the neighbourhood of Richmond, and retired towards the back country with such celerity, that it was impossible to overtake him.

In the mean while, Sir Henry Clinton, who was apprehensive for the safety of New-York, blamed Lord Cornwallis for penetrating so far; and a coolness from this moment seems to have taken place, which ended in a subsequent dispute and appeal to the public. No sooner were the dispatches received, however, than his lordship, knowing that obedience is one of the first duties of a soldier, abandoned Portsmouth, and concentrated his forces at York and Gloucester.

General Washington, on learning this, was desirous to strike a blow, that might possibly put a period to the war, and he had actually formed the daring project of capturing the brave Earl and all his forces. Rochambeau, the French commander, entered with great spirit into the scheme; and it unluckily proved but too successful. The combined armies of France and America accordingly passed through Philadelphia, and at length arrived, on the 28th of September, in sight of Yorktown, at which the British troops still remained posted, in consequence of dispatches from the commander-in-

chief, promising immediate relief. Lord Cornwallis on this withdrew his forces within the place, in full confidence of holding out, until the arrival of the promised succours. The works thus abandoned by him, were occupied next day by the confederates, and the town regularly invested.

The English commander being now reduced to the alternative of either surrendering or attempting to escape, of course preferred the latter, and actually conceived the idea of crossing the river, surprising Brigadier Choisè, who was posted on the other side, mounting his own infantry on the cavalry of the vanquished, and thus effecting a retreat, which would have been infinitely more glorious than any victory.

In pursuance of this design, the light infantry, &c. were actually embarked in boats, and transported to the Gloucester shores, in the course of the night; but a violent storm having arisen, the troops were driven much lower than was intended, and prevented, during a considerable time, from returning. In this distressful situation, and destitute even of ammunition, his lordship, unwilling to expose the remains of his gallant army to an assault, consented, on the 17th of October, to capitulate; and the terms were, on the whole, not unfavourable.

Lord Cornwallis now returned to his native country, in order to repose himself after the fatigues of an unfortunate war, and enjoy all the happiness that can possibly ensue from the sweets of private friendship and public esteem.

During the political contests that took place in 1782, and 1783, his lordship was for a time deprived of his place as Lieutenant of the Tower of London, which he had obtained several years before; but in the year 1784, it was restored to him. The calm that ensued after the peace, prevented his talents from being called into action

for some years; but the affairs of India no sooner began to assume a critical aspect, than a man was looked for, who united in his own person the esteem and confidence of the king, the ministry, and the people. Cornwallis was accordingly pitched upon, and immediately appointed to the high, honourable, and important situation of governor-general of Bengal.

No sooner did he arrive there, than a war took place with Tippoo Sultaun, son of the famous Hyder, who, from humble beginnings, attained great power, acquired extensive territories, and organized an immense army. The conduct of hostilities was at first intrusted to the Madras government; but little or no progress being made, the governor-general left Calcutta, and proceeded to the scene of action, where he arrived on the 12th of December, 1790. Having instantly assumed the command of the grand army, he proceeded to Vellore, and seemed to meditate an attack on the Mysore country, by the Baramahal Valley. The Sultaun, unacquainted with European tactics, was deceived by this motion; for the English soon after made a rapid march to the Muglu Pass, through which they penetrated with little or no opposition.

Within a few miles of Bangalore, Tippoo's army at length displayed itself on the heights, in excellent order; and it soon appeared that his subjects, as if in love with despotism, were attached both to his person and government. Notwithstanding this, Bangalore was immediately invested, and the *pettah* or town, stormed and taken on the very next day. The reduction of the fort itself followed soon after.

The army having been joined by the Nizam, and a reinforcement of 5000 men, under Colonel Oldham, Lord Cornwallis determined to march against Seringapatam, the capital of Tippoo; and on the 13th of May, the army arrived within sight of a place, the capture of which was expected to put a period to its toils, and re-

ward all its labours. As the Sultaun had posted thither a few days before, and occupied an advantageous camp, it was determined to carry it, if possible, by surprise; but this scheme proved abortive, from the vigilance of the enemy, who were, nevertheless, obliged to abandon their position.

It was impossible, however, at this period, to attempt the siege of so formidable a place as Seringapatam; for, in addition to a variety of other causes, there was an absolute deficiency in the article of provisions.

Having therefore sent notice to General Abercrombie, who was marching to his assistance, to return, the Commander-in-chief destroyed his battering train, and retreated to Bangalore, being joined on his march thither by 30,000 Mahrattas.

Early, however, in the ensuing spring, the British army retraced its steps, and appeared once more before the metropolis of the Mysore, where it found Tippoo again strongly entrenched. He was, however, attacked, and obliged, as before, to retreat. The Bombay army forming a junction soon after, regular approaches were made, redoubts were raised, and had it not been for some unlucky events, in respect to which his lordship was entirely blameless, the sultaun, after being stripped of his capital, and bereaved of his power, would have lain prostrate at his feet.

He, however, was obliged to accept of such terms as the English commander chose to dictate. He consented to cede part of his dominions, paid a large sum of money, undertook to furnish a still more considerable portion of treasure, within a limited period, &c. and entrusted two of his sons to the care of Lord Cornwallis, with whom they were to remain as hostages for the due performance of the treaty; and here it is but justice to a prince, whom we are accustomed to style a *barbarian*, to observe, that he fulfilled every article with the most scrupulous punctuality.

This important war being now ended, highly to the honour of the British arms, Lord Cornwallis returned to England, without being enriched by a post, in which avarice and rapacity could easily have realized a princely fortune—but he neither exacted a *jaghire* from the conquered sovereign, nor increased his own income, by venality or extortion.

Honours and employments, both so well earned, awaited him at home. He had before been invested with the insignia of the Garter; he was now (1792) created a Marquis, admitted a member of the Privy Council, and in addition to his other appointments, was nominated to the lucrative office of Master-general of the Ordnance.

Returning once more to the bosom of domestic happiness, the marquis seemed to promise to himself a life of ease and quiet in his native country. Such, however, was not his destiny. Ireland was disorganized, and the English power there shook to its very centre. It was even doubtful how long it would appertain to Great Britain; for it was menaced by insurrection within, and invasion from without. One of these events had actually taken place, and the other soon followed.

In this critical state of affairs, the eyes of the cabinet, and the nation, were once more turned towards him, and he was invested with the Viceregal powers, amidst the acclamations of both kingdoms. His administration has been short; but it has been successful. The insurgents have been beaten, the disaffected have been disarmed, and an invading enemy has been taken captive. But his administration has been accompanied by merits, of another, and of a better kind; for military despotism has ceased, the system of plunder and free quarters has been checked, and the torture, the rack, the whip, the scourge, and the halter, abolished, as instruments not within the pale of legitimate government!

Dr. JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, F. R. S. &c.

THE names of Galileo and of Priestley, excite a multitude of melancholy ideas!—Late posterity will, however, do them justice: and although too late to be heard by the injured individuals, will rectify the mistaken opinions of their contemporaries. It will be scarcely believed, indeed, that within a few years of the commencement of the 19th century, an illustrious philosopher should have been driven from his native country on account of his supposed political opinions; and that a brutal mob should have been allowed, in the name of "Church and King," to have destroyed his dwelling, threatened his person, and rendered his life unsafe, in the land which gave him birth!

Dr. Joseph Priestley was born March 13th, 1733, at Birstell-field-head, near Leeds, in Yorkshire. This part of the country, for a long series of years, has been celebrated for its manufactures, and the Priestleys were one of the first families engaged in the broad-cloth trade. The Doctor, while only seven years of age, was taken into the house of an aunt, Mrs. Keighley, and was brought up by her husband, who having no child of his own, adopted, and appears to have transferred that affection to him, which nature had intended for his own offspring.

Mr. Joseph Keighley, after whom young Priestley was, most probably, named, was a remarkable character. He had been once, like St. Paul, a great persecutor, and like him too became a convert. So violent was he against the dissenters, that he was accustomed to find out their meetings, which during the times of persecution, began about eleven o'clock at night, and ended at two o'clock in the morning. Happening once to discover their place of worship, he determined to secrete him-

self in a convenient place, in order to develope their heterodoxical tenets, expose their heresies, detect their plots, and deliver them over to the vengeance of the civil magistrate. The event, however, was far different from what might have been expected from a man seemingly led astray by blind prejudices; for after attending to their rites, instead of delivering the minister up to punishment, he took him home to his house, and supported him there, until liberty was opened to the sect.

Under this singular person, Joseph Priestley was brought up, and soon discovered an amazing attachment to learning. At the age of eleven, he surprised all who saw him, in consequence of his early proficiency. At that time he read, or rather devoured, Bunyan's works; and it was then thought that he would become one of the first Calvinistical teachers of his day. But as the Priestleys were then in a flourishing state, and acquired a certain degree of opulence and consideration by trade, they were inclined to bring him up to business. He, however, was at last, sent to the academy at Daventry, under the care of Dr. Ashworth, with an intention of being bred to the dissenting ministry, and his uncle dying, his aunt paid the expenses of his education.

But while the zealots for Calvinism were looking forward with complacency to the time when their apostle was to commence his pious labours, a change took place, from conviction in his religious tenets; for at this period he became acquainted with some Arian and Baxterian ministers, whose arguments appeared to be stronger than those with whom he had heretofore been accustomed to associate.

When about twenty years of age, he settled, for a little time, with a congregation at Needham in Suffolk; but as the opinions of the teacher did not correspond with those of his flock, and he was too honest to conceal his sentiments, he was soon deserted. In this situation, he

accepted of an invitation to Namptwich in Cheshire; although those who wished for his moral and spiritual assistance, were not able to promise him more that 30*l.* *per annum*. In order to eke out this scanty income, he acted as a schoolmaster; and happening to attract the notice of men capable of appreciating his worth, he soon acquired celebrity.

At this time, there existed a college at Warrington, in which the sons of many respectable dissenters were brought up, and where also a great number of young men were qualified for the ministry. Thither Mr. Priestley was invited, and taught the *belles lettres* in that institution, then in the zenith of its reputation.

As it was now a proper time for him to settle in life, and the means of maintaining a family presented itself, he determined to marry; and was accordingly united to Miss Wilkinson, daughter of Mr. Wilkinson, of Bristol.

But the period had now arrived, however, when a great revolution was to take place in this once celebrated and flourishing seminary. The principal supporters of the academy, and those who had been most liberal in their subscriptions, being cut off in the course of nature, and not being succeeded by men equally warm in their zeal, a speedy dissolution was threatened.

At this time, the Doctor received an invitation to preside over a flourishing and opulent congregation at Leeds, and was advised by his friends to remove thither.

After some years residence there, Lord Shelburne, now Marquis of Lansdowne, engaged him to superintend the education of his eldest son, Lord Wycomb, and he continued in that capacity during seven years. At the end of that period, he retired with an annuity of 150*l.* *per annum:* had he remained ten years, the sum would have amounted to 250*l.* and fourteen years attendance, would have raised it to 300*l.* according to previous agreement.

Soon after this, he had an invitation to Birmingham, where he continued until his place of residence, and the meeting-house in which he officiated, were both burnt to the ground!

A little subsequent to this catastrophe, Dr. Priestley succeeded his old friend, Dr. Price, in the dissenting meeting at Hackney; but his situation being rendered particularly unpleasant, and even unsafe, on account of the times, he purchased an estate in America, and removed thither in 1794.

Since his arrival in America, he has experienced many distinguished acts of favour and civility, but these have been counterbalanced by severe afflictions, for he has buried a wife and a son.

The publications of Dr. Priestley are so numerous, that a bare analysis of them would fill a volume of itself. History, Divinity, Education, Politics, Philosophy, Metaphysics—all these at different times, have been the subjects of his lucubrations. But it is as an experimental philosopher, that his name and his works will be handed down to posterity. His chemical labours do honour to the nation that produced and exiled him. It is to him we are indebted for a knowledge of the element in which we exist; and, alas! at the very moment he had extended the empire of science, and analysed the properties of air, he was, in a manner, interdicted that of his native country, and forced to breathe the atmosphere of another hemisphere!

(1798.)

Mr. D'ISRAELI.

THIS gentleman is the only son of a respectable Italian merchant, who has long resided in this country, and who is well known and esteemed upon 'Change.

The early part of his youth was passed at the country residence of his father at Enfield, where he was sent to a neighbouring school. Here he learnt nothing but a little imperfect Latin; enough, however, to perceive that there were beauties in Virgil and Horace, which his pedagogue could not assist him in discerning and appreciating. After a residence of several years, the affectionate care of his parents assisted him with a variety of masters; but as he revolted against the discipline of elementary knowledge, it was resolved that he should be sent to a private seminary in the city of Amsterdam. A year had scarcely passed under his new tutor, when he became the master of his master. If he had made no progress in classical literature, he had now, however, acquired a considerable knowledge of all the modern languages; he declaimed passages from the plays of the Spanish Calderon, the Luciad of the Portuguese Camoens, the Jerusalem of Tasso, and particularly from the Henriade of Voltaire. He formed a passionate attachment to the higher class of French writers; he felt with all the energy of taste, the rich imagination and seductive periods of Rousseau, the pointed and brilliant diction of Voltaire, and the conciseness and delicacy of Montesquieu.

On returning to his native country, he again retired to the country-house of his father. He now indulged more extensively in an uninterrupted perusal of authors of taste. He saw, with pleasure, that he was neither adapted by nature, nor designed by his friends for a commercial life. Having made a tour through France and Italy,

he returned with a valuable collection of books, particularly in the French language. He now had a confirmed taste for the literature of that refined and volatile people; and, as he has observed, among them he not only found works of taste, not elsewhere to be met with, but a vast resource for the *Materia Literaria*, which exists in no other nation.

The earliest performance avowedly by Mr. D'Israeli is "A Poetical Epistle on the Abuse of Satire," which was written, we understand, to gratify a certain man of letters, who was his neighbour, and who smarted under the scourge of Peter Pindar. As a first production, it exhibits his poetical talents to considerable advantage. This effusion afterwards procured him the friendship of Dr. Wolcott, who has not only encouraged his poetical efforts, by unequivocal marks of his approbation, but conferred on him still more useful services, by many proofs of his friendship.

In 1790, Mr. D'Israeli made a more formal appearance in public, by addressing a poem, entitled "A Defence of Poetry," to the present Laureat. The whole edition, excepting the few copies sold, was burnt by the author; undeservedly, it seems, for the Monthly Review of March, 1791, gives it the following character:—

"Mr. D'Israeli is among the few modern poets who have attained their favour "(the muses); they appear, from the testimony before us, to have distinguished "him from the crowd, and to have allowed him a plenteous draught from their "fountain of inspiration. He is not without a knowledge of the requisites of genuine poetry: his versification is elegant, flowing, and harmonious; nor can we "read this specimen of his abilities, without perceiving that he has devoted his days "and his nights to our immortal Pope."

In 1791, from these elevations of poetry, our author descended into the humble, but, with him, the agreeable and entertaining path of compilation. The first volume of his "Curiosities of Literature" was published anonymously; but the fascination of public favour induced him to prefix his name to the second. These compila-

tions soon became popular, and have been a scource of numerous imitations. The volumes form a rich repository of literary anecdote, and contain many original and well-written criticisms. The rapid sale of three large editions is the best proof of the public opinion.

As an original writer, he soon afterwards produced his "Dissertation on Anecdotes," of which work the Critical Review for January, 1794, observes, that

"This is an eccentric, an ingenious, and philosophical performance. The author, "in a very masterly way, vindicates the detailer of anecdotes from the charge of "being a literary trifler, and his remarks are extremely sensible and entertaining; "they are given in a lively strain of reasoning, and form a very judicious and curious speculation."

This was followed by his "Essay on the Literary Character." The merits of this ingenious and original performance are too generally known to require any eulogium in this place.

In 1796, he produced a volume of Miscellanies; it is not so original as his two former productions; but the diction, as usual, is highly polished, and the anecdotes are uncommon and curious.

His last performance was a philosophical novel, in two volumes, under the title of "Vaurien." The chief object of this work was to satirize certain literary eccentricities and *monstrosities* which have lately been obtruded upon the public. Some of the game was doubtless fair; a few characters were, however, too much overstrained and caricatured to impress every reader with the justice of the attack. To exaggerate is the common failing of all satyrists and caricaturists, and Mr. D'Israeli may not, perhaps, have exceeded the usual license.

He is at this time engaged upon a work, which, from a published specimen,* promises considerably to exalt

* Vide Monthly Magazine, page 368, May, 1798.

his reputation as a fine writer. It is to consist of several romances, embellished with original poetry.

Mr. D'Israeli is unmarried, and at this time about thirty years of age. His habits and connexions are as strictly literary, as those of any resident of the metropolis. Few persons read and write more; scarcely any compose with equal rapidity; and, if close application do not injure his health, the execution of some of his literary designs promise considerable future gratification to the public.

(1798)

LORD NELSON.

REAR-ADMIRAL, now Lord, Nelson, to whom his country is so much indebted for his brilliant services, is the fourth son of the Rev. Mr. Nelson, late rector of Burnham-Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, in the parsonage-house of which parish his lordship was born, September 29th, 1758. His father's family came originally from Hilborough in the same county; where they possessed a small patrimony, and the patronage of the living. His mother was Miss Suckling, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Suckling, of Suffolk; grand-daughter of the late Sir Charles Turner, of Warham, of this county, by his lady, the sister of Sir Robert Walpole. Captain Suckling, his maternal uncle, was his lordship's early and very valuable friend in life. He was an officer in the sea-service; in which he first commanded the Raisonable of sixty-four guns; then the Triumph; and lastly died comptroller of the navy. This gentleman married a sister of the present Lord Walpole, and was, of course, much in Norfolk. He took young Nelson, at twelve years of age, from North Walsham-school, in the same county, and entered him as Midshipman on board the Raisonable. Here the nephew served some time, with the valuable officer who now commands that ship off the Mauritius; and with captain Charles Boyles, his friend, and neighbour in the country, then also a midshipman; and from this ship they both removed with Captain Suckling into the Triumph, when he obtained the command of her.

On April the 10th, 1777, Mr. Nelson was made a lieutenant, and sent out by his uncle to Sir Peter Parker, in Jamaica, who then commanded upon that station. He was by Sir Peter shortly afterwards made master and commander. On the 11th of June, 1779, he was ap-

pointed post captain, and at the conclusion of the American war, returned home. Capt. Nelson was next sent out in the Boreas frigate, to the leeward island station; and had under him, his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, who commanded the Pegasus. Here the captain is said to have rendered a signal service to his Royal Highness, for which he afterwards honoured him with his friendship.

It was upon this station, and we believe about this period, that his lordship formed a matrimonial alliance with his present lady, Mrs. Nesbit, of Nevis, widow of Dr. Nesbit, physician, and niece to the governor of the island: and, when the marriage ceremony was performed, the Duke of Clarence, it is said, gave away the bride. And here it would be unjust not to mention a report, which does credit to the captain's integrity, and nice sense of honour: Mr. Herbert, governor of the island, was extremely rich, and had an only child, a daughter, who was to have inherited her father's fortune. By marrying without his consent, she had forfeited his esteem, and was upon the point of being disinherited in favour of his niece; when the admiral generously interfered—and had the pleasure, before his marriage, of restoring the daughter to her parents' affection, and the fortune to its natural channel.

While his lordship continued upon this station, he had under him a small squadron of frigates; and was particularly active in suppressing smuggling, a practice but too prevalent in those seas. This vigilance was acceptable to all parties, except the smugglers, and their friends; who threatened, and would actually have involved him in expensive litigations, had not the Admiralty interposed to rescue him from their malice.

Upon quitting the station, he returned to his native country, and, as there was no immediate call for his services, retired with Mrs. Nelson to the parsonage-

house at Burnham; which his father gave up to him, preferring a residence in the neighbourhood. In this retreat, his lordship led a quiet, domestic life for some years; like Gil Blas, at Llyrias, inclined to write over the door of his cottage:

> " Inveni portum. Spes & Fortuna valete;
> " Sat me lusistis: ludite nunc alios."

and, like him, inclined to return into the world, when more active scenes demanded his attendance.

By his lady, the admiral has no family; but there is a son of Lady Nelson, by her first marriage, (Mr. Nesbit) who is a post-captain, and has served under his lordship during the whole period of the present war. Besides his wife, and her son, Lord Nelson has now living of his near relations, first, his father, who resides near Ipswich; next, his eldest brother, Maurice, a clerk in the navy; two brothers, clergymen, William, Rector of Hilborough, Suckling, Rector of Burnham-Thrope; and two sisters, both married.

Upon the breaking out of the present war, his lordship was early appointed to the command of the Agamemnon, of sixty-four guns. Of this ship's company, a considerable part was raised in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk; and not a few in his own neighbourhood. The general opinion of his conduct and abilities, as an officer, was such, that several gentlemen were desirous to place their sons under his command; and some of considerable respectability solicited, and obtained this favour: in particular, the Rev. Mr. Bolton, his lordship's relation, and the Rev. Mr. Hoste and Wetherhead, his friends, entered their sons as midshipmen on board the Agamemnon; and, it must be owned, that if they wished to give them a just knowledge of their profession, founded on a valuable body of experience, they could not have selected a better master. Poor Wetherhead fell nobly at San-

ta Cruz, the others still continue with his Lordship, and have merited his esteem and affection.

From the commencement of the war, to the present moment, the public are in possession of the general outlines of his lordship's life. During a considerable part of the time that he commanded the Agamemnon in the Mediterranean, scarcely a gazette appeared, but it contained an account of some service performed, or of some enterprise undertaken. If a merchantman was to be cut out of harbour, a battery to be dismounted, a town to be attacked, the commodore generally placed himself in the "hottest battle," and exposed his person to the same danger as the meanest seaman. Such voluntary contempt of danger, although it is not always prudent in the commander, is certainly generous, and often leads to success. Men will do more, and with greater pleasure, when they find that nothing is required on one hand, but what is submited to on the other : and great examples will justify great expectations.

In a profession like the sea-service, calculated to raise heroes, by inuring the mind to difficulty and enterprise, it would be unjust to extol one character at the expence of others; yet in the triumph of that glorious day, when lord St. Vincent, with a far inferior force, beat the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent, and captured four of their large ships, no inconsiderable share belongs to Nelson. The San Joseph, and the San Nicholas, both vessels of superior force, struck to him. The sword of the Spanish Admiral, which he received upon quarter-deck, and which the Spaniard refused to deliver to any but his lordship, he presented to the corporation of Norwich; as he has done lately that of the French Admiral Blanquet, to the corporation of London. Upon the occasion of the action off Cape St. Vincent, his lordship was created knight of the Bath; and, about the same time, Rear Admiral of the Blue.

In estimating Lord Nelson's services, it is not an individual achievement we have to admire, in which, perhaps, good fortune had at least as much share as good conduct; but it is a series of successes, for the most part planned with judgment, and executed with spirit. "Some men," says Lord Bacon, "follow fortune, others *lead* her." The admiral appears to be of the last description. The glorious battle of the Nile, for which he has recently been rewarded with a peerage, has engaged so much attention, and has already been so minutely described, that it is unnecessary to enlarge here on the subject. It will stand upon record, as one proof, among many, of what British sailors, commanded by able officers, can effect in her arduous enterprizes. The celebrity of Lord Nelson's name, has added another laurel to the honours of a country, already distinguished for the eminent characters it has produced.* We learn from the history of Norfolk, that at the little village of Cockthorpe, not far from Burnham, three seamen of great celebrity were born; namely, Sir John Narborough, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and Sir Christopher Minns.

When men have raised themselves by their abilities to any unexpected elevation in the ranks of society, their habits in private life become objects of curious enquiry. Though the *great* man may shine in the bustle of the world, it has well been observed, that the *man* can only be seen in private.

Piety, or a just sense of the superintending providence of God—the virtue, without which all others are but as "dust and ashes"—has considerable influence on Lord Nelson's mind, as is known to his more intimate acquaintance; and as may be collected from the proëmium of his dispatches to Earl St. Vincent, after the battle of the Nile: My Lord,——— "ALMIGHTY GOD has blessed his Majesty's arms by a great victory," &c.

* While the politician regards the late battle with an eye that includes *all Europe*, the rustics of Burnham observe, that it was fought on "Burnham fair-day;" and consider this as not the least valuable circumstance attached to the event.

Parental piety, which the Romans esteemed so highly, as well as conjugal tenderness and affection for relations, which are the foundations of our social system, are also conspicuous in his character. His attention to his father was always remarkable; the old gentleman had a practice, when the weather permitted, of walking for an hour before dinner: the admiral, however occupied, scarcely ever failed to accompany him in these walks. When, after the unsuccessful attempt at Santa-Cruz, his lordship lay ill, in consequence of the amputation of his right arm,* and it was uncertain what might be the event, it is said that his principal anxiety was for his relations, rather than himself; and that he wrote to the Admiralty, with his left hand, recommending Mr. Nesbit to their notice, in case he should die.

His attachment, however, to relations is not stronger than is his regard for strangers in distress. He entertains a just sense of the duties of benevolence: † instances of which might easily be adduced, did the limits of this memoir permit. And so strong are his feelings of private friendship, that, when returned from a distant climate, he has been known to shed tears upon meeting an old friend unexpectedly. To some, these circumstances may appear trivial, and light; but to others, no less discerning, they will appear interesting; because they display feelings inseparable from magnanimity, and afford the best insight into his real character.

When we compare Lord Nelson's present with his former fortune, and consider the early period of success and elevation in life, we may, perhaps, *inadvertently*

* When Lord Nelson received the wound that shattered his right-arm, he was in a boat, and held a sword that had been given him by his uncle, Captain Suckling, which he prized highly. Upon this occasion, he had the good fortune to save it from falling into the water, by catching it with his left hand. This circumstance is said to have given him peculiar pleasure.

† The noble Admiral, last winter, sent down a large collection of blankets to his native village, to be distributed among the poor.

conclude, that he has been exuberantly rewarded.—— When, however, on the other hand, we call to mind the loss of an eye, and an arm, in the service of his country; a wound received in the head; a position carried, which the French, the best engineers in the world, deemed impregnable; an expedition frustrated that alarmed all Europe;—we must readily retract such conclusions. That he has risen to his present eminence without the co-operation of powerful friends, is perfectly unnecessary to remark. In a state of society, men are formed for each other, and exist by mutual support; but whatever favours of this kind Lord Nelson may have received, he has amply deserved by the merit of his conduct. How different this, from those cases, in which some men, without any personal abilities, are raised to the first ranks in society, by the mere *force* of *patronage;* and, like the stone of Sisyphus, are always likely to recoil on the heads of those that raised them!

In respect to person, Lord Nelson is about the middle height; thin, and somewhat inelegantly formed. He is a man of few words, and plain manners; but possesses great sincerity and a sound understanding. He is evidently a man of genius; since no one but a master in the profession could have discovered the *only* point in which the French line was vulnerable, and have availed himself of it so dextrously. Although the attack at Aboukir was successful, it was not made without considerable hazzard, since the Culloden, which should have led into action, under the command of an able officer, actually ran aground. During the last war, Admiral Barrington, in the West-Indies, took nearly a similar position to that of Aboukir; which was considered as impregnable; and, in fact, when the French made their attack upon him, such it proved.

In every point of view, we are warranted in concluding, that Lord Nelson has rendered a most important service to humanity, by his late decisive and splendid victory. If the hostile cabinets of Europe should pru-

dently avail themselves of its impression upon the enemy, and of the proud and commanding situation in which it has placed their forces, an honourable and glorious peace may be the happy result. The prospect of a general and lasting amnesty is, indeed, the only point of view in which the desolations of war can be, in any degree, tolerable to a feeling mind; the dreadful price of one victory, well improved, tends to prevent further effusions of blood. An enemy grows more reasonable as he becomes less powerful; and thus partial evil is productive of universal good.

(1798.)

GILBERT WAKEFIELD, B. A.

THIS gentleman boasts a name well known in the annals of classical literature; and it is also intimately connected with the questions that have lately agitated the minds of the THINKING part of the community, on the subject of religion; nor has it been without celebrity in the field of political controversy. Respecting such a person, the opinions of his fellow citizens will be as various, perhaps, as their principles. Our judgment, too, often, *Cameleon-like*, borrows its decisions from the hue of party; and, unfortunately, we are never less candid, than when political and religious enmities warp around, and pervert the mind from its natural bias towards justice.

An outline of Mr. Wakefield's life has already been laid before the public by himself*, and from it we learn, "that he was introduced into this planet on February 22d, 1756, in the parsonage-house of St. Nicholas, in Nottingham, of which church his father was then rector." It appears that his paternal grandmother claimed her descent both from the Russell family, the illustrious head of which, in the reign of the second Charles, bled for the cause of freedom; and that great lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, the latter part of whose life was devoted to the liberties of his country. With such progenitors, added to a spirit of liberal enquiry, it is but little wonder that he should dare to think for himself, and become a stickler for the popular cause!

On his origin, however, Mr. W. does not seem to plume himself;

"Malo pater tibi sit Thersites, dummodó tu sis
"Æacidæ similis, Vulcaniaque arma capessas;
"Thersitæ similem quàm te producat Achilles."

"Give me Thersites' son, who bravely wields
"Vulcanian armour in embattled fields,
"Before Thersites of Achilles' line;
"Degenerate offspring of a sire divine!"

From his earliest infancy, the subject of these memoirs appears to have evinced a disposition of mind uncommonly grave and serious. In addition to this, he displayed an ardent thirst for knowledge, seldom equalled, perhaps never surpassed in any human bosom; and what is truly wonderful, it has always continued unimpaired to this hour. At the age of three years and three months, when he went to the school of an ancient female, still in existence, he could spell the longest words, repeat his catechism without hesitation, and read the gospels with fluency;—for this early proficiency, he was indebt-

* "Memoirs of the Life of Gilbert Wakefield, B. A." 1 vol. 8vo. 1792.

ed to the attention of a kind mother. During the following Whitsuntide holidays, and at Christmas in the same year, he displayed a memory equally precocious.

When he had attained his seventh year, he was initiated in the Latin language, at the free-school of Nottingham, under the Rev. Dr. Samuel Beardmore, afterwards master of the Charter-house; but to this respectable scholar and gentleman, whom he characterises "as an acrimonious divine," he disavows any obligations whatever, and, after a lapse of thirty years, he still recollects his threats.

At the age of nine he was removed to Wilford, near Nottingham, then under the direction of a preceptor, of different character, a man of unparalleled simplicity of manners; he erred, however, in being "righteous overmuch," for he subjected the pupils to a rigorous confinement, of no less than thirteen hours daily: with the intermission of only one hundred and twenty minutes, for breakfast and dinner. This practice is unfavourable to health, and militates against the salutary maxim of the Roman poet;

> "Et puer es; nec te quicquam, nisi ludere, oportet:
> "Lude; decent annos mollia regna tuos."

On the elder Mr. Wakefield's promotion to the vicarage of Kingston, he was removed from restraints too irksome, even for a boy of his application, and placed under his father's curate. There again, he was unfortunate, for his new preceptor proved to be one of those "pedagogical Jehu's," satirised by a great English* divine; and, indeed, it is not a little remarkable, when the importance of the subject is considered, how few are

* See the discourse on "Education," (in his printed sermons, 6 vol. 8vo.) by Dr. Robert South, public orator of the university of Oxford, prebendary of Westminster, &c. &c. an able man, and a great time-server, but who could not get a bishoprick!

qualified for the task of instruction, and how careless parents in general are, respecting the choice of those who are to form the infant minds of their offspring.

At the age of thirteen, Mr. Wakefield, at length, found in the person of the Rev. Richard Woodeson, father of the present Vinerian professor, a preceptor better suited to his taste, at least so far as discipline was concerned. His academy seemed a kind of *hot-bed* for seedling authors; Messrs. Steevens Keate, Gibbon, Hayley, and Baron Maseres, being all nurtured there; yet he himself, hardly ever published any thing, and his store of latinity does not appear to have been great; but he possessed a benignant temper, and although armed with a *ferula* to the *full* as awful as the sceptre of a despot, his was a gentle reign.

After tasting the streams of Greek and Roman literature at their fountain head, his parents began to think of sending him to the university, on which a studentcy in Christ-church, Oxford, was offered him; this he *luckily* escaped, in consequence of his father's predilection for his own college; and it still seems to afford a subject of exultation to the son, even in his riper years; as "orthodox theology, high church politics, and passive obedience to the powers that be, sit enthroned," according to him, in a seminary, once "nutrix heroum," the venerable nurse of Somers, Hales, Selden, Chillingworth, and Locke.

At length he obtained a scholarship in Jesus College, Cambridge; and it so happened, that he exactly suited the intention of the founder, who preferred "the son of a living clergyman, born at Nottingham," both of which conditions, as may have been observed, happened to be united in him.

As soon as he was settled at the university, Mr. W. resumed his classical studies, which had suffered a long suspension, in consequence of a putrid sore throat and

fever, followed by a vacation of several months. The college lectures in algebra and logic, were, however, particularly odious to him. So enamoured was he of classic ground, that it was long before he could prevail upon himself to approach the less inviting regions of science and philosophy. At last, however, he overcame his prejudices, and actually opened Euclid, "The old Carpenter," as he was jocularly termed by a young man, who, like himself, had become a mathematician by compulsion.

During a five years continuance at Cambridge, he rose by five o'clock in the morning, during both winter and summer; but notwithstanding this, which implies a severe attention to study, he was fond of society at his meals.

In the third year of his residence, he became a candidate for Dr. Browne's three medals, and accordingly produced a couple of odes in Greek and Latin, and also a pair of epigrams; the first and last exercises, according to his own opinion, were unworthy of the reward, but he thought he was hardly used respecting the Horatian ode; and had not the son of Dr. Cooke, then provost of King's, been a claimant at the same time, it is highly probable, that he would have succeeded.

His academical studies had hitherto refused leisure for theological enquiries; a branch of learning, which his native seriousness of disposition, and his spirit of enquiry rendered peculiary apposite. At last, during the long vacation of 1775, he began to cultivate Hebrew, without the aid of which, he deemed an acquaintance with the text of the new testament impossible.

On January 16th, 1776, he took his degree of B. A. with seventy-four other candidates for academical honours; and, on this occasion, he was nominated to the second post. Soon after this, (April 16th,) he was elected fellow; and, in the course of the same year, he

printed at the university-press, a small collection of latin poems, with a few notes on Horace, by way of appendix.

In 1777, he obtained the second of the four yearly prizes, presented by the members for the university. In 1778, he finished an exercise, at inns, &c. during a journey, which he had begun at college; this he trusted to the fidelity of a cross-country waggoner, and first learned his success through the medium of a London newspaper! He thus appears to have been *second* wrangler, *second* medalist, and the *second* in the batchelor's for both years.

On the 22d of March, 1778, he was ordained a deacon by Dr. Hinchliffe, bishop of Peterborough, in the chapel of Trinity college, at the age of twenty-two years and one month. It would appear, that previously to this period, the student had enquired into the nature and tendency of subscription, having since regarded his acquiescence, in this point, as the most disingenuous action of his whole life; and stigmatized some of the articles, as "unsufferably stupid, beyond the sottishness of "even Hottentot divinity."

On April 14th, Mr. W. left the university for the curacy of Stockport, in Cheshire.

He did not, however, remain long here, for we find him soon after, with his brother at Richmond, decidedly averse to the renewal of subscription, and embarrassed at the idea of ecclesiastical functions.

It is not a little remarkable, that Mr. W. seems, on this occasion, to have been nearly in the same dilemma, in which a member of the very same university, and assuredly the greatest genius of his age, found himself about a century and a half before; for Milton thus expresses himself, without any scruple on the occasion, to a correspondent who wished him to take orders, "to which," says he, "by the intention of my parents and

my friends, I was destined of a child, and in mine own resolutions, till coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded the church, that he who would take orders, must subscribe slave, and take an oath withall, which, unless he took, with a conscience that would retch, he must either strait perjure or split his faith; I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing."*

Every conscientious resolution, more especially when in evident opposition to self-interest, savours of magnanimity; and such was actually the case in both instances. Shut out from church preferment by principle, Mr. W. bethought himself of a less lucrative situation, and accordingly applied for Breewood-school, in Staffordshire, which he most probably would have *obtained*, had it not been, that, even in this institution, subscription was actually necessary, as if education were indissolubly connected with the established faith!

Soon after this disappointment, he accepted a curacy at Liverpool; and having here probed the creed of his forefathers to the quick, his resolution of detaching himself altogether from the church, became daily strengthened: notwithstanding this, he continued to preach a little longer, and his discourses seem to have had such an effect, even in that place, that one merchant (wonderful to tell!) was actually persuaded at the intercession of his wife, to sell his share in a privateer. Would to God, that he could have prevailed on the people of this second Nineveh to have relinquished their traffic in human blood!

On March 23d, 1779, he vacated his fellowship by marriage.

* "Reason of Church Government, B. II. p. 41. edit. 1641, in 4to." See also the Hollis' edition of Milton's prose works, page 6.

About the same time, he exchanged the curacy of St. Peter's for that of St. Paul's, where he had more leisure for his studies; from an humble attempt to establish a day-school, he was diverted by an offer of the tutorship of the classical department at Warrington academy, in Lancashire, whither he removed in August, 1779. In this seminary, where he seems to have lived in great cordiality with his colleagues, he commenced his theological career, as an author, by a new translation of "the first epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians," which appeared in 1781. A few months after, he published his "Essay on Inspiration," on which subject, he seems to agree with Dr. Geddes, the translator of the Bible; then his treatise on "Baptism," begun and completed in nine days. Next year, his "New Translation of St. Matthew," with notes, &c. made its appearance; and this was finished within the compass of a few weeks.

In addition to these labours, he cultivated his acquaintance with the original Hebrew text of the old Testament, learned the Syriac and the Chaldee, acquired the Samaritan character, read the Pentateuch therein, and the Syro-Chaldaic version of it; to these were added the Æthiopic, Arabic, and Persic; lastly, he obtained a facility in the Coptic version of the New Testament, and made some improvements in the lexicon and grammar of that language. When to all this are added the daily avocations of a teacher, he must be allowed to have achieved more than Herculean labours!

On the dissolution of the Warrington academy, a removal took place in the autumn of 1783, to Bramcote, within four miles of Nottingham, where Mr. W. endeavoured, but in vain, to procure a few respectable pupils. In this rural retreat, he published the first volume of "An enquiry into the Opinions of the Christian Writers of the three first Centuries, concerning the Person of Jesus Christ;" but notwithstanding the commendation of many excellent judges, he was not encouraged by the sale, to proceed with the continuation.

In May, 1784, we find him a second time fixed at Richmond, advertising for pupils, and renewing his applications to his friends. At Michaelmas, we again hear of him in his native town of Nottingham, and there he had three or four pupils under his care for several years, on very handsome terms; and about this time, he was elected an honorary member of the Philosophical Society of Manchester, in consequence of his "Essay on the Origin of Alphabetical Characters."

In 1786, he was seized with a pain in his left shoulder, and remained ill for two years, during which period he seems to have soothed his mind by "Remarks" on Mr. Gray's poems, and a new edition of the Georgics of Virgil, accompanied with criticisms. In the beginning of 1788, he attacked Dr. Horsley, whom he designates as "not the least conceited and audacious controversialist of ancient or modern days;" and in the autumn of the same year, he let off a sly cracker against the church, under the title of "Four Marks of Antichrist, or a Supplement to the Warburtonian Lecture."

The year 1789 ushered in his "Remarks on the Internal Evidence of the Christian Religion;" and also the first part of "Silva Critica;" the latter, which is from the Cambridge press, was published with a view to unite theological with classical learning, and to illustrate the scriptures by light borrowed from the philology of Greece and Rome.

On the establishment of the new college at Hackney, Mr. W. was deemed a proper person to fill the office of classical instructor; and he was at length appointed to this station, in July, 1790. His connexion, however, with the institution, was dissolved at the end of eleven months, having retired in June, 1791: the seminary did not long survive the loss.

Towards the latter end of the same year, appeared his "New Translation of the Testament, with Notes," in

three volumes, 8vo. In a few weeks after, he published his pamphlet on "Religious Worship;" and in March, 1792, he favoured the world with "Memoirs of his own Life."

After a pretty considerable interval, in 1794, appeared "The spirit of Christianity compared with the Spirit of the Times in Great Britain;" this is a politico-religious pamphlet, in which the author, with a manly freedom, enquires how far the public measures of the government, in the origin and continuance of the present war, are congenial to the precepts and the spirit of the gospel. Much about the same time, appeared the first volume of a new edition of "The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq. with Remarks and Illustrations." On this occasion, notwithstanding his taste for the poets of antiquity, he allows that Pope sometimes transcends even the original, particularly in the following four lines in his translation of Homer, describing the buckler of Achilles!

"Thus the broad shield complete the artist crown'd
"With his laft hand, and pour'd the ocean round:
"In living silver seem'd the waves to roll,
"And beat the buckler's verge, and bound the whole."

"This is truly poetry to the life," added he:

"Thoughts that breathe, and words that burn."

The same year also beheld "An Examination of the Age of Reason," in which, although Mr. W. boldly and ably defended christianity, yet by conceding such parts of the system as were unsupportable by sound reason, and more especially by considering *national churches* not only "as hay and straw, which might be removed without any difficulty, or confusion, from the fabric of religion," but as an "incrustation which has enveloped, by gradual concretion, the diamond of chris-

tianity," he gave offence rather than satisfaction to the established clergy, who did not choose that even their faith should be defended at the expence of their tythes. This was soon followed by " Remarks on the general Orders of the Duke of York," in which, although the author still contends against the justice of the war, he is yet candid enough to allow the conduct of his Royal Highness, on this occasion, to have been great and magnanimous.

In 1795, appeared a small volume of " Poetical translations from the Ancients," and also " A Reply to Thomas Paine's second Part of the Age of Reason," in which the best friends of Mr. W. while they allowed his talents, lamented that he did not defend christianity with more of its genuine spirit. The author himself dissented from the dissenters—and why could he not allow another man to dissent from him ?

Persevering with unabated ardor in his career, in 1796, came forth his " Reply to the Letter of Edmund Burke, " Esq. to a noble Lord ;" in which he once more exhibited himself as a dauntless champion in the field of liberty, against a man whose rapturous eloquence had formerly excited his warmest panegyrics. He also published an 8vo. volume of " Observations on Pope," in the course of the same year.

" A Letter to Jacob Bryant, Esq. concerning his Dissertation on the War of Troy," at length appeared ; however heterodox the author might be in matters of faith, he was a zealous oppugner of all heresies from the received classico-orthodoxical opinions. Another letter, on a very different subject, addressed to Mr. Wilberforce, respecting his " Practical View of the prevailing religious System of professed Christianity, &c." was published in 1797. In this, he exhibits the flagrant falling off in point of " vital christianity !" between the religionist and the politician, the favourer of war, and

the opposer of the slave trade. In a former publication,* he had most forcibly characterised the same gentleman, "as a politico-theological satyr, with one breath cooling the burning anguish of the African, and with another in the same instant blasting the spring from the year, by giving his vote to an abandoned minister, for the extirpation of half the youth of Europe by the sword!"

Early in 1798, appeared "A Reply to some parts of the Bishop of Landaff's Address to the people of Great Britain." This pamphlet, which exhibits much personal respect to Dr. Watson, has become a Pandora's box, and produced an infinite variety of evils: it has been even thought to commit the safety of the state. Two convictions have already taken place, on the part of two booksellers, neither of whom were the original publishers; and it is not a little memorable, that it appeared, on the oath of an unobjectionable witness, that one of these (a man of unimpeachable morals, and most respectable character) was ignorant of the introduction of the pamphlet in question, into his shop, which happened to be brought thither on the suggestion of a servant, and was actually removed by the master, on hearing that it had been deemed libellous.†

It is but justice, however, to observe, that Mr. Wakefield came forward, on the prosecution of the original publisher:‡ and manfully offered to immolate himself to the resentment of the law officers of the crown:

"————in me convertite ferrum,
"O! Rutuli! mea fraus omnis:—nihil iste nec ausus,
"Nec potuit————."

* "A Reply to the Letter of Edmund Burke, Esq. to a noble Lord."

† The writer of this memoir was present in court, and lamented greatly, that Mr. Erskine did not make his chief stand on the grand distinction between the agency of a servant, *civiliter and criminaliter*, as the principal is implicated only in the first, and not in the second instance, which includes *libels*.

‡ Mr. Cuthell.

This *boon* being denied, he soon after addressed " A Letter to Sir John Scott, on the subject of a late trial in Guildhall." On that occasion, either not finding a bookseller, who would endanger his liberty, or not wishing to bring any person but himself into jeopardy, the pamphlet was advertised to be sold at his *own house*. In this publication he complains, in language which has given great offence, that the attorney-general had wielded " the sword of the law," with stern severity ; and in reply to an extra-judicial-opinion from the bench, he sets the saying of an Athenian lawgiver, in opposition to the opinion of a British judge.

Undaunted by the threats of prosecution* uttered in open court, and before his own face, by Sir John Scott, Mr. Wakefield, since this epoch, has been employed in a controversy with a Dr. Glasse, respecting the prison in Cold Bath-fields. Certainly the spirit of our laws disclaims every idea of torture, in respect to all persons, and close imprisonment in regard to political offenders in particular. Indeed, the latter, during the reign of Charles I. became the subject of enquiry and complaint, and was at length redressed. In other days, the rumours that have gone forth, concerning this newly-invented mode of duress would long, ere this, have become a subject of parliamentary investigation ; and it is to be hoped, that even the present age is not so degenerate, if a real grievance should be found to exist, as to permit our mild, humane, and excellent code to be perverted with impunity.

Mr. Wakefield at present resides at Hackney, with his amiable family, consisting of a wife, formerly Miss Watson, (niece to his quondam rector), four sons and two daughters. In person he is about the middle size ; and there is an air of primitive simplicity in his countenance and somewhat of an *apostolic* cast about his face, arising, perhaps, in some degree, from his high and po-

* He has since been served with an information *ex officio*.

lished forehead, and the baldness of his front and temples.

In conversation he is remarkably mild and gentle, and his manners are pleasing. His memory is so uncommonly tenacious, that it can retain minute facts, and even dates, after a considerable lapse of time. No man is more beloved and respected by a very extensive circle of acquaintance. His personal activity is equal to that of his mind and pen. His habits are strictly domestic and literary. He is a pattern of abstemiousness, and shares in its happy results, never partaking of strong liquors; and from a laudable principle of humanity, totally abstaining from the use of animal food.—Mr. W. must, even by his enemies if they know him personally, be pronounced to be a man whose conduct is solely actuated by principle, and an inflexible love of virtue. He may err, but his faults are not the depravity of his heart—they can only result from too ardent an imagination, or from the mistakes of his judgment.

(1798.)

JERVIS, EARL ST. VINCENT.

—— VINCENTI CORONA.

UPON that column, which a grateful country meditates to erect in commemoration of naval victories, glorious beyond example and important beyond calculation, the chissel of the artist shall not inscribe a name more deservedly esteemed and honoured than that of Jervis, nor shall the pen of the historian record a victory more glorious than that whence this brave commander derives his title.

While sculpture and history thus commemorate the achievement, curiosity, laudably inquisitive, inquires the name and character of the individual who performed it; and the writer of the biographic sketch, occasionally quitting the anecdote which gratifies curiosity, rises into the consequence of the historian, and records a brilliant event in the annals of his country.

Earl St. Vincent, although sixty-five years of age, fifty-five of which have been spent in the service, still retains

"A ſparkling eye beneath a veteran brow."

His Lordship possesses all the fire and energy of youth tempered with all the maturer experience and deliberative wisdom of age. He is descended from an ancient and respectable family in Stafford-shire, and is the second and youngest son of Swynfen Jervis, Esq. barrister-at-law, counsel to the Admiralty, and auditor of Greenwich-Hospital; and his mother was the sister of Sir Thomas Parker, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

At the early period of ten years of age, his Lordship quitted Burton Grammer-School,* where he imbibed the rudiments of his education, and entered into the navy, a service in which he was probably induced to embark from his father's situation in the Admiralty.

The foundation of those principles of naval discipline and superior seamanship, which his Lordship has upon all occasions so conspicuously and effectually displayed, was first laid under that distinguished officer Lord Hawke, to whose principles, although that great commander is now no more, the British navy is in no inconsiderable degree indebted for the fame it has acquired.

The probationary interval of servitude, passed in the capacity of midshipman until rising to the rank of lieutenant, affords little scope for general observation or public notice; it is enough, that, in this capacity, the more private but not less meritorious duties are performed under the eye and approbation of the superior officers; but it is allowed by all who knew his Lordship in that subordinate capacity, that he was here distinguished for that prompt obedience to command which constitutes, in the opinion of his Lordship, the life and soul of naval discipline.

Soon after the peace, his Lordship was sent to France to acquire those accomplishments which are requisite in an extensive intercourse with the world, and perfect himself in the French language, an almost-indispensable requisite in the education of a naval officer.

The limits assigned to this sketch do not allow us to trace his Lordship through the respective gradations of lieutenant, or master and commander, those more prominent points only of general observation and historical record must consequently form this biographic portrait, accompanied by such information and anecdote as may

* Mr. Meux, the brewer, was one of his Lordship's cotemporaries.

gratify reasonable curiosity, delineated with that fidelity, and, at the same time, consistent with that delicacy, which ought always to be observed in sketching the portrait of a *living* character.

The dates of his Lordship's commission as a lieutenant and master and commander, together with the services he performed, are here not touched upon, because the splendor of his later achievements is so conspicuous, as to render these details, (necessary, perhaps, in other lives,) in his character, more easily to be dispensed with. This, therefore, we shall pass over, with the observation, that, in the year 1760, his Lordship was promoted to the rank of post-captain, and served some time upon the West-India station.

In the memorable engagement between the French and British fleets, on the 27th and 28th of July, 1778, his Lordship commanded the Foudroyant, which was the next ship to the Victory, and as closely engaged and as much disabled as any ship in the fleet. Indeed it is impossible to convey a better idea of his Lordship's character and opinion, relative to that engagement, than by the following extracts from the clear, consistent, and pointed testimony, which he gave upon the court-martial called upon Admiral Keppel.

Upon the following question being put by the Admiral,

Q. Your station being nearest me during the pursuit of the enemy and after the action, which gave you an opportunity of observing my conduct, and of seeing objects nearly in the same point of view with myself, I desire you will state to the court any instance, if you saw or knew of any such, in which I negligently performed my duty on the 27th or 28th of July.

A. With great respect to you, sir, and deference to the court, I hope I shall be indulged with having that question put by the court.

The Judge-Advocate, *mutatis mutandis*, then put the question.

A. I feel myself bound to answer that question. I believe it to be consonant to the general practice of sea courts-martial.—I cannot boast of a long acquaintance with Admiral Keppel ; I never had the honour of serving under him before ; but I am happy in this opportunity to declare to this court, and to the whole world, that, during the whole time that the English fleet was in sight of the French fleet, he displayed *the greatest naval skill and ability and the boldest enterprise upon the 27th of July ; which, with the promptitude of Sir Robert Harland, will be subjects of my admiration and imitation as long as I live.*

From the evidence given upon this trial it appears, that the Foudroyant, which had got into her station about three, and never left it till four the next morning, was very closely engaged, and in a most disabled state. Her main-mast had received a shot very near through the head and lodged in the cheek, which passed through the heart of the mast ; and several other shot in different places ; her fore-mast had also received several shot ; a large excavation had been made in her bowsprit near the centre ; the fore-topmast was so disabled, that it was obliged to be reefed, and the mizen was totally disabled ; every rope of her running-rigging cut, and her shrouds demolished ; no braces or bowlines left, and scarcely any hallyards : fore-stay, spring-stay, and top-sail-ties, and the foot-rope of the fore-topsail, shot away : her sails also were very much shattered.

In this most disabled state, the Foudroyant was not in a condition to chase, but kept her station next the Victory, as far to windward as possible. "*I was covetous of wind,*" said this brave officer, "*because, disabled as I then was, I conceived the advantage of the wind could only carry me again into action.*"

Being asked some questions relative to the position of the vice-admiral and his division, his Lordship pointedly replied, that "he was not a *competent judge of that part of the fleet, he was very attentive to the admiral.*"

Nor was the *special pleading*, attempted to be introduced relative to any variance between his evidence and the log-book, capable of affecting him. His Lordship declared he always gave his testimony from his own observation. His questions were not shaped to answers; nor would he, in any case, be compelled to swear to what was set down in the log-book, but only from what he saw or knew.

Indeed, throughout the whole of this examination, his Lordship's presence of mind, readiness and point in answer, and unshaken firmness, has demonstrated, that his intellectual faculties, are by no means inferior to his successful intrepidity in the heat of battle.

We come now to detail the particulars, to use the words of Admiral Barrington, then commander-in-chief, of one of the most brilliant actions which had occurred during the American war, namely, the capture of *the Pégase;* an action which decidedly proved that species of happy valour, which constitutes the leading feature of his Lordship's professional character: in the month of April, 1782, Admiral Barrington sailed for the Bay of Biscay with twelve sail of the line; and, when a short distance off Ushant, Captain M'Bride, commanding the *Artois*, which was very far a-head, made the signal for discovering an enemy's fleet. In consequence of which the Admiral hove out the signal for a general chase, and about three o'clock the enemy became visible; but the Admiral's ship, the *Britannia*, was left very far a-stern by many of the prime-sailing ships, amongst which, the Foudroyant, Captain Jervis, so far outstripped the rest, that, when night came on, with hazy weather, he soon lost them entirely, but still kept a full view of the enemy, whom he pursued with unre-

mitting vigour. The chased fleet consisted of eighteen sail, laden with provision and ammunition, and containing a considerable number of troops for the supply of the French fleet and forces in the East Indies, being particularly to supply the loss of that convoy which had been taken by Admiral Kempenfelt in the preceding winter: they had sailed from Brest only the day before, and were under the protection of the *Protecteur* and *Pégase* of 74 guns each, *l' Actionnair* of 64 guns, armed en flute, and a frigate. The Foudroyant gained so fast upon the chase, that it was evident they could not escape without an engagement; the convoy was therefore dispersed by signal; and the two French seventy-fours having consulted together, it was determined, that, as the *Protecteur* had a large quantity of money on board, she should make the best of her way; and that, if fighting was inevitable, the *Pégase* should abide the consequence. A little before one A. M. the *Foudroyant* came up, and was closely engaged with the *Pégase*, commanded by the Chevalier de Sillans. This action was extremely fierce whilst it lasted; but within less than an hour from its commencement, his Lordship laid the French ship aboard on the larboard quarter, and the *Pégase* was compelled to strike. Nothing could have afforded a more striking instance of the decided superiority of seamanship and discipline on the one side, and of the great effects which these qualifications produced on the other, than the circumstances of this gallant action. On board the *Pégase*, 80 were killed and wounded; the hull, masts, and yards, of the French ship were materially injured; and the damage she sustained was beyond any thing that could have been supposed, considering the short time she was engaged; while the *Foudroyant* sustained but little injury; not a man was killed, none mortally, and his Lordship the worst wounded.* At this

* His Lordship was wounded by a splinter, which struck him on the temple, the effects of which have never been removed, as his eyes have ever since been affected. The engagement between the Foudroyant, and the Pégase have been admirably depicted by Serres, who has devoted two pictures to the subject, which are now in the possession of the Marquis of Lansdown.

time, the sea was so rough, that it was with great difficulty that his Lordship, with the loss of two boats, could put an officer and eighty men on board the prize. Soon after this was effected, the *Foudroyant* and *Pégase* lost sight of each other; but the *Queen*, fortunately coming up, took possession of her. In consequence of this gallant action, Captain Jervis was honoured with the insignia of Knight of the Bath; and, about this period, was married to his first cousin, Miss Parker, daughter of Sir Thomas Parker.

Previous to the commencement of the present war, his Lordship, who, in the year 1787, had been promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, and in the year 1790 to that of rear-admiral of the white, acted and voted with the Opposition; but, when the war had actually commenced, he considered himself as bound in honour to make a tender of his services; which, highly creditable to the judgment of administration, was immediately accepted, and he was appointed to command the squadron, destined to co-operate with Sir Charles Grey in the reduction of the French West-India islands,* In this toilsome service, with the most formidable difficulties to encounter, the spirit and perseverance of these brave commanders shone pre-eminently conspicuous; and the London Gazette Extraordinary, in the month of April, 1794, announced the important intelligence, that, on the 16th of March preceding, the whole island of Martinique had been captured from the French, excepting the forts *Bourbon* and *Royal*, which were then closely besieged; and, on the 26th of the same month, dispatches from the commander-in-chief were received, containing intelligence of the complete conquest of the island of *Martinique*, by the surrender of the fort *Bourbon:* five stand of colours laid down by the garrison, together with two colours of *Fort Bourbon*, were sent and presented to his Majesty. This was a battle on both sides hardly fought; and Sir Charles Grey thus

* About ten thousand men, originally destined for this service, were drafted off, and employed in an expedition to the coast of France.

handsomely bears testimony to the gallantry of his opponents: "The gallant defence," said sir Charles, "made by General *Rochambeau* and his garrison, was strongly manifested on entering Fort Bourbon, as there was scarce an inch of ground untouched by our shot and shells; and it is but justice to say, that it did them the highest honour."

The remainder of the French West-India islands soon after followed the example of *Martinique;* but, in consequence of the sickness of the troops, and for want of sufficient reinforcement, these conquests could not be retained.

Earl St. Vincent returned home from this expedition with his health considerably injured, and very much emaciated, from the effects of the yellow fever; but, though his body was visibly impaired, his strong and ardent mind could not long brook inaction; and, after the short interval of four months' repose, he was dispatched to succeed Admiral Hotham in command of the Mediterranean squadron, where he blocked up the Spanish fleet, and bombarded Cadiz; to which, according to the accounts of the Paris papers, whose authority upon this occasion need not be suspected, he did considerable damage. Indeed, the services he had performed upon this station, in blocking up the Spanish fleet, and protecting the coasts of Italy, in addition to his former meritorious achievements, had so recommended him to his Majesty, that it was in contemplation to raise him to the dignity of the peerage, and a patent was actually ordered to be prepared for that purpose, when the news of the glorious defeat of the Spanish fleet was first announced.

Before we enter upon the detail of this memorable victory, in justice to the character of his Lordship, we are bound to make some brief remarks upon the situation of the country, which are necessary to appreciate more justly the value of such distinguished services.

During the year 1797, the war between Great Britain and France was almost exclusively confined to naval operations, in which the skill and activity of British seamen were eminently conspicuous, and a series of splendid victories had animated their spirit to a most uncommon height:—still it must be remarked, that the enemies of Great Britain had also considerably increased. The Spaniards, negligent of their better interests, too subservient to the fatal influence of the Great Nation! had agreed to co-operate in its desolating principles; and the navy of Spain and Holland was to have joined that of France.

About this period, the conspiracy, which had been long forming in Ireland, began to wear the more open character of bold and avowed and rebellion. The conspirators, relying upon the protection of France, which could only be afforded by so formidable a concentration of naval force as would have been produced by the junction of the three navies, and which seemed difficult at that period to prevent, began to be more bold and open in their conduct. A general gloom pervaded the country; and never was there a period which required a greater effort to revive the drooping spirits of his countrymen, than the period of this enterprising victory.

The country was, at this time, on all sides, threatened with invasion; the very bulwarks of the nation tottered; and the Irish conspiracy had infected the British fleet, which was taken possession of by the mutineers. To blockade the fleets of the enemy in their own ports and to prevent a junction was the only mode of averting the impending blow.—To have engaged a fleet so numerous as the combined fleets, would have been most hazardous; and with such an inferior squadron to prevent the junction, seemed to be impossible. Notwithstanding these obstacles, the mighty mind of Sir John Jervis, upon viewing the fleet of the enemy, instantly conceived that bold project, which terminated so gloriously for himself, and so honourably for his country.

Conscious of their superiority of number, the Spanish admiral, not conceiving such a spirit of enterprise as was inherent in the British fleet, watched a favourable opportunity, and put to sea. The moment his Lordship was apprised of the course of the Spanish fleet, he called all his captains on board, explained to them in person his plan of attack, and gave them such complete orders, that he had no occasion, during the whole of the action, to make above three or four signals, a circumstance that contributed considerably to perplex the fleet of the enemy.—This mode, it may be observed was also followed by Lord Nelson; and to Lord St. Vincent's judgment and system of tactics, may be attributed, in a great measure, the glorious victory of the Nile, a victory more brilliant with respect to the number of ships captured, not inferior perhaps in point of daring enterprise, but, certainly, not achieved against an enemy so formidably superior.

The Spanish fleet, commanded by Don Juan de Cordova, consisted of TWENTY SEVEN sail of the line, one of which was a four-decker, and mounted one hundred and thirty six guns; six were three deckers of one hundred and twelve guns each; two of eighty-four, and eighteen of seventy-four.—The British squadron amounted only to FIFTEEN SAIL OF THE LINE, FOUR FRIGATES, A SLOOP OF WAR, AND A CUTTER; of these six were three deckers, eight were of seventy-four guns, and one of sixty-four. The Spanish admiral had sailed from Cordova on the 4th of February, and passed Gibraltar on the following day, having left in that bay three line-of-battle ships. On the night of the 11th, the Spanish fleet was first discovered by the Minerva frigate; and, in the night of the 13th, the two fleets approached so near each other, that their signal-guns could be heard: at day-break on the 14th, were in complete order, and by six A. M. were prepared for battle. About ten the Spanish fleet was visible to all the British squadron, and some of the ships appeared to be separated from the main body: the British admiral instantly conceived the de-

sign of cutting off these before they could re-join, or the main body arrive to their assistance; but, observing the position of the main body, he formed his fleet into a line of battle a-head and a-stern, and, about half past eleven, signified his intention to push through the enemy's line. The signal was accordingly hove out for action. His Lordship accomplished his design, and a part of the fleet was most effectually separated from the main body, which, in consequence of this separation, was reduced to eighteen sail of the line. Towards this main body, which was then to windward, the British admiral directed his attention; and, a little after twelve, he again made the signal for passing through the enemy's line, which the Spanish commander attempted to counteract, by wearing round the rear of the British line, to join his ships to leeward; but this effort was counteracted by Commodore Nelson, who had no sooner passed the rear of the enemy, than he ordered his ship, the *Captain*, to wear and stand on the other tack. In executing this bold manœuvre, Commodore Nelson found himself along side the *Santissima Trinidada* of 136 guns, and the *Captain* only a 74. Although the *Santissima Trinidada* was assisted by her two seconds, three-deckers, this gallant commander did not shrink from the conteft. The *Culloden* and *Blenheim* had, however, by this time pressed to his assistance, and the approach of Admiral Parker, with four other ships of the line, prevented the Spanish admiral from effecting his design of re-joining the ships to leeward.

The advantage at this period being completely with the British, the Spanish fleet were crowding off; but, in the confusion of their retreat, some of the Spanish ships had doubled on each other. Admiral Jervis then bore up with the seven ships in his division, with an intent to rake the enemy in succession; but, not being able to effect this, he ordered the leading ship, the *Excellent*, to bear up, while he, in the *Victory*, passed to leeward of the rearmost ships of the enemy. Captain Collingwood, who commanded the *Excellent*, accord-

ingly passed between the two rearmost ships of the enemy, and poured such an effectual broadside into the *San Ysidro*, that she was obliged to submit. After this, the *Excellent* moved on to the relief of the *Captain*, which was engaged with a three decker; but, before she could arrive, this ship got foul of her second, a two-decker, in which state they were both boarded by the *Captain*, and the smaller, the *San Nicolas*, was speedily taken possession of; the three-decker, the *San Josef*, followed the fate of her second, and became a prize to Commodore Nelson, who headed the party which boarded her from the *San Nicolas*. In the mean time, Admiral Jervis, who had ordered the *Victory* to be laid alongside the *Salvador del Mundo*, the rearmost ship of the enemy, poured in such an effectual discharge, that she thought proper to strike.—Thus four of the enemy's ships were in possession of the British, whose loss in killed and wounded, was exactly three hundred men: the loss of the Spaniards, in the four captured ships alone, amounted to six hundred and ninety-three men; from which proportion, the remainder of their flying fleet must have suffered very considerably. The remainder of the Spanish fleet then took shelter in Cadiz, and Sir John Jervis soon after entered the Tagus, with his fleet and prizes, amidst the cheering shouts of the populace, where three thousand two hundred prisoners were landed from the four prizes. Thus were most propitiously averted the designs of a rapacious enemy, whose intent was to effect a junction with this defeated fleet, that it might disgorge a legion of rapacious madmen on whatever shore of Great Britain might promise the surest means of continuing that desolating system, which has long "frighted Europe from her propriety." And, had this daring enterprize not succeeded, and the little squadron of his Lordship had been defeated, the junction of the French, Dutch, and Spanish fleets, would have amounted to no less than eighty sail of the line!

The gloom which overspread the country was dispelled by the news of this victory, which was received with

that grateful exultation which characterizes Englishmen towards their brave defenders. Admiral Jervis received the thanks of the two Houses, and was honoured with the title of Earl St. Vincent, from the scene of this brilliant action, and Baron Jervis of Meaford, from the place of his birth; he also received the gold medal and a pension of three thousand pounds per annum. Pausing for a moment, and contemplating this glorious victory, not in invidious, but more distinctive, comparison with others, it will readily be admitted, that other victories may have been more brilliant in point of the number of ships captured; but it is also to be considered, that the power of the two contending fleets has, in other cases, been nearly balanced. It was reserved, however, for history to trace in characters bold and impressive as the achievement recorded, that a British admiral, with a squadron of *fifteen ships* of the line, engaged and vanquished the fleet of Spain, consisting of *twenty-seven*, one of which was a *four-decker*, and mounted one hundred and thirty-six guns!

Upon the motion in the House of Lords relative to the late vote of thanks upon his Lordship's victory, the Duke of Bedford proposed, as this victory differed from every other, to introduce an amendment expressive of its characteristic distinction. His Royal Highness, the Duke of Clarence supported this amendment; and, in his speech upon this occasion, gave several instances, from his own knowledge, of the excellent ſtate and discipline, in which the men and ships under his Lordship's command were invariably kept; and continued his Royal Highness, "without giving the slightest offence to any other, I do not hesitate to declare Sir John Jervis the very best officer in his Majesty's service."—His Royal Highness sailed some time under his Lordship's command: his conduct, as a naval officer, is modelled on his Lordship's principles; and there is no doubt, but, should any occasion offer to call forth the exertion of his Royal Highness' talents, he will prove himself worthy of that

school in which he was bred, and not inferior to any of his predecessors in the path of naval renown.

His Lordship has been twice chosen a representative of the borough of Great Yarmouth; and, upon the recommendation of his intimate friend and patron, the Marquis of Lansdown, was introduced to the Whig-party in that town. At a later election, he declined Yarmouth in favour of his colleague, Mr. Beaufoy, and was returned with Sir Thomas Baring for High Wycombe. Upon the death of Lord Charles Townshend, his Lordship was again put in nomination for Yarmouth; but, although this friendly effort did not succeed, it ought in justice to be observed, in testimony of his Lordship's distinguished merit on the one side, and the grateful sense of it entertained by the constituents of this borough on the other, that, in his absence, without any solicitation, even without his knowledge, and without expense, he was put in nomination. Indeed, so firm was his Lordship's attachment to the constituents of this borough, that he wished to have taken the title of Earl of Yarmouth; but, upon being informed that his title was that of St. Vincent, his Lordship observed that he was very well satisfied, as "that title belonged to *every officer and seaman of his fleet.*"

In his political character, his Lordship has voted and acted with Opposition; and his speeches in parliament relative to the impolicy of the present war, are replete with that argument and point by which, upon every occasion, his Lordship has been characterized.

His Lordship has long been in habits of intimacy with that great statesman, the Marquis of Lansdown, a nobleman not less distinguished for profound political knowledge than the introduction and patronage of eminent public characters: to instance, amongst many, Admiral Barrington and Colonel Barré, with all of whom Lord St. Vincent has lived in habits of intimacy and friendship: nor will his Lordship's discriminating judgment pass without a due share of applause, when it is known,

that some of the first officers of the navy have been formed under him.* Amongst these may be reckoned Lord Nelson of the Nile: his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, was also some time under his command, and has always professed as much respect and esteem for his Lordship as an individual, as he has declared his well-merited approbation of his Lordship's character as a naval commander.

In consequence of severe illness, occasioned by the baneful effects of a West-India climate, his Lordship was compelled to leave his station in the Mediterranean; but still retains the command, until the state of his health shall permit him to resume it.

On the 18th of August, 1799, his Lordship landed in the dock-yard at Portsmouth, and went to the house of Sir Peter Parker, where he was waited upon by the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses; when the mayor presented him with the following address:

"My Lord,

"Impressed with the most grateful sense of the high services rendered to our country, by the glorious victory obtained by the fleet under your command, over that of the enemy, on the 14th of February, 1797, the mayor and aldermen of this borough elected and appointed your Lordship a burgess of this ancient corporation. They now take the earliest opportunity to shew their high esteem and regard, by congratulating you on your safe return; sincerely wishing your Lordship may be speedily restored to health, that your country may again be benefited by fresh victories obtained by the fleet under your command."

To which his Lordship was pleased to return the following answer:

* Evan Nepean, Esq. the present secretary to the Admiralty, was originally introduced and patronized by Lord St. Vincent, under whom he served as purser.

" I am very happy on this occasion to repeat the sense I entertain of the great honour done me by the mayor and aldermen of the borough of Portsmouth, in electing and appointing me a burgess of their ancient corporation, and in assuring them, that I shall be ready on all occasions to promote the interest of the borough.

" I return you my thanks for your congratulations on my return to England, and kind wishes for the speedy recovery of my health, which *if it pleases God to restore, the remainder of my life will be devoted to the service of my king and country.*"

It is a most pleasing and important communication to his country, that his Lordship is so far advanced in a state of convalescence as soon to be enabled to perform his promise, and conclude a life distinguished for glorious naval achievement in the service of a country which he has so largely contributed to defend and to exalt.

His Lordship was made lieutenant in the year 1755, in the same year with Lord Duncan and Admiral Hotham. He was made post-captain in the year 1760, knight of the Bath in the year 1783, rear-admiral of the blue in the year 1787, rear-admiral of the white in the year 1795, and is now admiral of the blue.

The whole life of this gallant Admiral, which has been devoted to the service of his country, has been characterized by uncommon energy of mind, and superior skill in his profession. The strictest honour and the most inflexible integrity, have ever distinguished his political, and the firmest and warmest attachment to his friends, has always characterized his social, life.

(1799.)

MR. ROBERT SOUTHEY.

THE subject of the present memoir, though a very young person, and of a retired disposition, is justly entitled to a place among the public characters of this country, being well known as a man of letters, but more particularly as a poet. His largest poem, Joan of Arc, was written by him at an earlier period than Lucan wrote his Pharsalia. Like the Roman poet, too, the author is a strenuous assertor of liberty.

Mr. Robert Southey was born at Bristol, August the 12th, 1774. His father was a linen-draper in that town, a man who had been so accustomed to regulate his motions by the neighbouring-clock, that the clock might at length (so punctual were his movements) have been regulated by him. He was, also, extremely fond of the country and its employments.

This spirit of the father rested on the son; for, the father's favorite instructions to all around him were, to tie the stockings up tight, and to be punctual. Robert, to this day, is said to tie up his stockings very tight, even unwholesomely, and in engagements is punctual to a minute. His poetry, too, is very conversant in rural objects. The father, though a worthy man, was unfortunate, and died of a broken heart in consequence of embarrassments.

At six years of age, young Southey went to the school kept by Mr. Foot, at Bristol, and which is now ably managed by Mr. Estlin, and one of the most respectable dissenting academies in this country. At the death of Mr. Foot, he was removed to Carston, near Bath. He left Carston when he was eight years of age. The revisiting of this place gave birth to some of those feelings expressed in that pleasing poem, entitled the *Retrospect*,

published in a volume, printed in 1795, the joint production of our author and his friend Robert Lovel.

Southey continued at a day-school in Bristol till he was thirteen years of age, and wrote rhymes when he was but ten. He was also taught by his aunt to relish Shakespeare and Beaumont and Fletcher. For one year he was under a clergyman who taught a select number of pupils for a few hours in the morning. At fourteen, he was removed to Westminster-School.

At this school he continued, in the practice of the public schools, to write bad Latin verses; his English verses were more decent, and indicated, that the author might, in future life, reach excellence. He continued to abide by his father's rules for punctuality, and is said never to have undergone any corporal punishment; he, however, it seems, possessed sympathies with such as did, and wrote some essays in a periodical paper entitled the Flagellant.

Robert was entered at Baliol-College, Oxford, in November, 1792. His turn of mind was serious, his affection ardent, and he became a republican. He, to this day, is proud of being thought a republican, and not without reason. For, (contrary to the opinion of some,) politics, the most important of morals, is in a high degree favourable to poetic genius; and some of the best poets have been the most enlightened advocates of freedom. The book that most influenced his judgment was Mr. Godwin's Political Justice. In the summer of this year, he became acquainted with Mr. Coleridge, a student at that time of Jesus' College, Cambridge, and who was then on a visit to a friend at Oxford. Coleridge, no less than Southey, possessed a strong passion for poetry. They commenced, like two young poets, an enthusiastic friendship, and, in connection with others, struck out a plan for settling in America, and for having all things in common. This scheme they called Pantisocracy, of which, however visionary it

may be thought by some, Southey still approves the theory.

Southey first became acquainted with Lovel in 1793. The three young poetical friends, Lovel, Southey, and Coleridge, married three sisters. Southey is attached to domestic life, and, fortunately, was very happy in his matrimonial connection. He married in November, 1795, just before he left England to accompany his uncle to Spain and Portugal. He continued abroad six months.

Of his religious sentiments we shall say but little. Poets are often the children of fancy rather than of reason; and, whether they are Deists, Socinians, or Calvinists, correct inquirers will not regulate their judgments by the writings of poets. It seems, however, Southey was once a Deist; then he became a Socinian; though several sentiments contained in the Joan of Arc are scarcely reconcilable with the belief of a Socinian. Whatever his religious persuasions, however, may be, he is tolerant in principle, and destitute of bigotry; he shuns close argument, and professes to know little of metaphysics. Whatever his opinions may be for the time, he never conceals them, and is cautious that other people should not mistake them.

All his intellectual endowments he professes to owe to his mother's uncle, chaplain to the factory at Lisbon, a man of a most excellent character, of whom Mr. Southey always speaks with that sense of gratitude, which argues a good heart. It was with this gentleman that Mr. Southey travelled into Spain and Portugal.

He is now member of Gray's Inn, though he principally resides in the country; and is at present engaged in writing an epic poem, entitled Madoc, which he intends to keep under correction for several years.

It is in the closet where we should contemplate such a character as Robert Southey. We must not look for

great variety of incidents in the history of a young man, now only twenty-five years of age, immersed in reading, and impassionately attached to poetry. We will then close with a short account of his writings.

In the year 1795, he published his first volume of poems, in connection with his friend Robert Lovel, the former assuming the name of Moschus, the latter of Bion. Without noticing any particular blemishes that maturer judgment would have corrected, some of which, in subsequent volumes, are now corrected, it may be proper, in general to say, that the sonnets to Ariste are pretty; and the Retrospect and Ode to Romance have considerable merit. On reading the poems of Robert Lovel, the admirers of poetry will lament his early death; for, unquestionably, he had a poetical mind. His sonnets to Happiness and Fame are particularly excellent.

In the year 1796, Mr. Southey published his Joan of Arc, an epic poem, in ten books. It would be improper to enquire into its particular beauties and defects here. If examined by the rules laid down by Aristotle for the epic, it will be found defective. But, it might be asked, are Aristotle's the invariable rules for the epic? Are they to be the eternal law? And has no other poet ventured to go against them? These are questions not to be urged here. Without pretending to fix the character of Joan of Arc by the ordinary rules of the epic, without enquiring into the truth of the theology, the justice of the representations, and the like, we consider the Joan of Arc to possess great beauties that cannot fail to please all the lovers of poetry; and, provided they do not forget they are reading the writings of a mere poet, (for, the poet always claimed the power of raising spirits, conjuring up visions, or making gods and goddesses, and even devils, at his pleasure,) they may justly be delighted with the simplicity and richness of the descriptions, the harmony of the numbers, the amiable spirit of benevolence, and the love of liberty, so prominent in Joan of Arc.

This poem (surprising as it may be thought) was written, Mr. Southey tells us in his preface, in six weeks. Whatever, therefore, its faults may be, though haste, simply considered, is never allowed by strict criticism to be an apology for negligence,) yet when it is recollected, that it was the almost-extemporaneous production of a young man, writing for bread, great allowances will be made; though, indeed, before it was brought into its present shape, it underwent more than ordinary correction, and was twice written over again. The verse is heroic or Iambic verse, of ten syllables without rhyme, called by us blank verse, and is, generally speaking, excellent of its kind. The second edition makes two elegant volumes.

The next volume of poems, published by Southey, contains the productions of very distant periods. They possess different degrees of merit; for, where a person writes with that uncommon rapidity with which Mr. Southey composes, he will not always write like himself. The Triumph of Woman is a fine poem. The Sonnets on the Slave-Trade breathe much benevolence, and do the author great honour. The lyric poems, though possessed of a good deal of the fire of poetry, are yet defective in many of those qualities required of that most polished and useful, though difficult, species of poetry, by which Mr. Southey has thought proper to denominate them, Lyric. Some of them should rather have been called *copies* of verses, a name commonly given to little pieces written on the spur of the moment, and reducible to no distinct class.—MARY is a very affecting narrative, and justly admired.

In the year 1799, he published another volume of poems with this motto:

> The better please, the worse displease, I ask no more.
>
> SPENSER.

These are, for the most part, of the story or ballad kind, and imitative of the style of the old English ballads. Of this number are, the Complaints of the Poor, the Cross-Roads, the Sailor who had served in the Slave-Trade, &c. This volume also contains the Visions of the Maid of Orleans, in three Books, which composed the ninth book of the first edition of Joan of Arc, and formed what Mr. Southey called the original sin of the poem. Considered as mere poetry, these three books possess many beauties.

Another volume of poems has just made its appearance, entitled THE ANNUAL ANTHOLOGY, of which Mr. Southey wrote a great part. It is a miscellaneous composition, though entirely poetical, and written by different authors. The other contributors are, Mr. Taylor, of Norwich, Mr. Charles Lloyd, Mrs. Opie, Mr. George Dyer, Mr. Joseph Cottle, Mr. Charles Lamb, the late Mr. Robert Lovel, Mr. A. S. Cottle, Mr. Humphrey Davy, and Dr. Beddoes.

This volume is entirely original, with the exception of some pieces that made their appearance in the Morning Post; and, being composed by persons of different tastes, must of course possess considerable variety. Every reader, therefore, who has a relish for poetry, may expect to find something suited to his taste in the Annual Anthology; for it unquestionably contains many excellent compositions.

It remains, just to say a word of the only prose work written by Mr. Southey, which comprehends his travels, entitled Letters written during a short Residence in Spain and Portugal. This work has been well received, and a second edition has been published not long since.

The most curious part of this work relates to the Spanish and Portuguese poetry. In all countries, as Mr. Southey properly observes, "the era of genius has

preceded that of taste; and taste has not yet been reached by the Spanish and Portuguese poets." Genius they have undoubtedly possessed, as may be seen in the La Hermosura de Angelica, an heroic poem, by Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, of which Mr. Southey has given a fair and large specimen; and the Lusiad, of which we have an English translation, by Mr. Mickle. The Diana of George of Mountemayer, from the beautiful specimen given by Mr. Southey, proves the author to have been a man of an elegant fancy. But the characters of the Spaniards and Portuguese are strongly marked by extravagance and superstition, and so is their poetry. Yet, all things considered, more particularly the terrors of their government, and the gloominess of their religion, we are rather surprised that the Spaniards and Portuguese should have done so much, even in poetry, than that they have not done more. And their poetical compositions, amidst much futility and extravagance, contain many things that the curious will like to peruse, and which the ingenious cannot fail to admire. The second edition of Mr. Southey's letters is unaccompanied with his translations of Spanish and Portuguese poetry. These, we are happy to hear, are to form a distinct volume; and, when enlarged and adorned by Mr. Southey's remarks, cannot fail of being favourably received by the public.

(1799.)

MR. GODWIN.

Mr. WILLIAM GODWIN, is descended from a family of dissenters. His father, whose Christian name was John, was educated at the dissenters' college at Northampton, under the celebrated Dr. Doddridge; and was, in the concluding part of his life, minister of a congregation at Guestwick, a village in Norfolk. His attainments are said not to have exceeded what is usual among persons of his situation. He lived, however, with the character of a very honest man.

Mr. Edward Godwin, the grandfather of Mr. Godwin, was the cotemporary of Watts, Bradbury, Barker, and Neale, eminent ministers in the beginning of this century, with whom he was intimately connected. He resided in London, where he had a large congregation, most of whom were of the richer class among the dissenters. It is impossible for us to say what was the extent of his talents or learning; but his name stood very high. It was usual for the eminent writers among his friends to consult him on their productions; and a story is told of him, which, if true, and there seems to be no reason to question it, is a proof that he was regarded as a man of taste as well as learning.—The story is the following:—Robert Blair, the author of a poem entitled the Grave, residing in a remote part of Scotland, committed the care of publishing that poem to Mr. Edward Godwin; at the same time consulting him as a critic. The poem, as every one knows, acquired great celebrity; and the author, coming to town, some time afterward, embraced his friend, not only thanking him for his care in the publication, but acknowledging he was indebted, for the greatest part of his success, to his critic's advice and aid.

Mr. Godwin received the earliest part of his education from a school-master in his father's neighbourhood. To discover what accidents have assisted in forming the habits of a great mind, is one of the most beneficial purposes of biography. Mr. Godwin's first master seems to deserve a portion of the praise that belongs to those who have sensibility to perceive talents in their germ, and generosity to contribute to their growth with patient culture. He was a man above the ordinary rate of persons of his employment, in so obscure a spot as that in which he kept his school; and, having a good deal of penetration, and still more enthusiasm and benevolence, he soon openly declared that young Godwin was such a child as had never come under his observation before.

From this master, with whom it is probable Mr. Godwin acquired something better than the mere rudiments of such branches of learning as were taught in his school, he was sent to Norwich to pursue his studies under a private tutor; and, from Norwich, was removed to the Dissenters' College, at Hoxton, near London, where he remained five years under the tuition of Dr. Kippis, editor of the New Biography Britannica, and Dr. Rees, editor of Chambers' Cyclopedia. The ordinary course of studies at Hoxton included the classics, Hebrew, logic, ethic, divinity, rhetoric, the mathematics, natural philosophy, and pneumatology.

Of Mr. Godwin's progress at the college little is known, and therefore it is probable there was nothing uncommon in it. He is said to have had a very small party there, by whom he was not only extremely beloved, but considered, as infinitely superior to his fellow-students; and these are said to have avenged themselves by ridiculing him and his little faction.

It was usual for the young men at Hoxton, who were designed for ministers of the dissenting-church, to preach in London and its vicinity during the last year of their

abode at the college. Mr. Godwin followed the practice; but it does not appear that he excelled his fellow-students. In 1778, he entered regularly on the office of a dissenting minister, the functions of which he continued to discharge for the four years immediately succeeding, chiefly at Stowmarket, in Suffolk, where he had a congregation.

It well deserves to be noticed, that Mr. Godwin adopted the opinions of the Calvinists, although his teachers at Hoxton held the doctrine of Arminius. This, probably, was among the first fruits of that spirit of investigation that eminently marks his character. In the scheme of Calvinism, there is much to attract a religious mind having the intrepidity to pursue an argument through all its consequences.

In 1782, he removed to London, with the resolution of trusting to literature for the means of his future subsistence. It is not to be expected, that we have been able to trace the process of Mr. Godwin's mind from the time of his assuming the office of a dissenting-minister to his laying it down. The more minute and curious parts can be known, with such accuracy as will justify the motives that make an investigation of that nature at all useful, only to himself, and must, in part, have escaped even his recollection; but Mr. Godwin, having early acquired the habit of close observation and profound research, is, no doubt, acquainted with many of the more subtle, as well as the palpable, operations of a change in opinions and feelings, perhaps without example for its extent; and it is his duty, as it is that of every man in his circumstances, to furnish the world with a history so important in the study of human nature. We have before us, however, a prodigy in its outward appearances. We find Mr. Godwin rigidly orthodox, till about the year 1783; and, in 1792, a writer, whose freedom of inquiry and fearlessness of deduction gave alarm not only to orthodoxy in religion, but to bigotry of every species. All that we have been able to discover, beyond

that outside, is the very early existence in his character of a love of knowledge. Throughout the whole of his inquiries, first in religion, and afterward in ethics, he never was to be satisfied till he had penetrated beyond the veil that at once bounds the discussions of the hypocrite and the preceptions of the ignorant.

With such a temper, something was to be expected from Mr. Godwin when he dedicated himself wholly to literature, and all his habits were of a nature to favour his pursuit. He was studious, patient, indefatigable, and extremely moderate in his expenditure. He soon perceived he could earn his bread with little labour; and, what was infinitely important to the completeness of his success, without any sacrifice of his taste and understanding to the multitude. Nor did he care how little more than bread he earned. To excel in his art was what he more immediately desired; and to be the successful advocate of truth, his ultimate and greatest ambition. Bearing these noble motives in his bosom, he was not impatient to appear before the public, as a writer; and we are not to be surprised, that, for more than nine years after literature was his occupation, he was an obscure individual, except where accident had throw him into the way of men who could distinguish talents while they were employed in collecting the materials of future success.

Mr. Godwin began his literary life in 1782; and it was not till 1792 or rather the beginning of 1793, that Political Justice was published. He had no reason to repent of the severe discipline he had imposed on himself. Within a few weeks of the appearance of that work, his immediate object, the acquisition of fame and its consequent power in the application of his talents, was obtained. He was not merely known to the public, but was ranked at once among men of the highest genius and attainments.

The principles contained in Political Justice had all the appearances and many of the effects of self-evident

axioms. To understand the terms, and adopt the propositions of the work, were so nearly inseparable, that it was a fact that some very great and learned men, in expressing an abhorrence of its doctrines, could not conceal the secret that their detestation of Political Justice was chiefly occasioned by its subtlety in eluding their zeal to detect the radical error, which, from certain propositions they held to be infallible, they were sincerely persuaded lay somewhere in the work. Political Justice at once tortured their feelings and baffled their reason. They were in the situation that fanatics in religion ascribe to some of their converts, believing and denying, and ready, in the bitterness of their hearts to curse the question for intruding itself upon them. But, while there was this ludicrous struggle in the minds of some of the readers of Political Justice, its terms were in reality so simple and intelligible, that the work, although discussing its topics at great length and in very minute detail, was scarcely published when it was every where the theme of popular conversation and praise. Perhaps no work of equal bulk ever had such a number of readers; and certainly no book of such profound inquiry ever made so many proselytes in an equal space of time. Pirated editions were published in Ireland and Scotland; and people of the lower class were the purchasers. In many places, perhaps some hundreds in England and Scotland, copies were bought by subscription, and read aloud in meetings of the subscribers.

Neither the favour Political Justice obtained with the populace, nor the strange puzzle it occasioned among some of the learned, are subjects of astonishment to him who considers the nature of the work. The fundamental proposition in Political Justice is, *that virtue consists in producing the happiness of society*. To deny that statement is to abandon all the pretensions on which men found their claim to respect for their moral conduct. The sincere man, therefore, embraces the proposition with his whole heart; he has no need to run to a master to know its meaning or to inquire if it is congenial

with his feelings: to him it is real, if visionary to all the world beside. Mean time, the hypocrite is entrapped, if he ventures to open his mouth; for he must acknowledge the truth of Mr. Godwin's statement, or formally publish a recantation of all the professions he has till that moment made of the motives of his public or social actions.

Mr. Godwin's scheme of morals is exhibited with such distinctness in his work, that we find no difficulty in giving our readers its entire outline in a few words.—*Virtue consists in producing the happiness of society, and is the individual interest and the general perfection of man: he is a being governed by intellectual motives: to inform his mind on every subject, to the utmost extent of human perception, would be to give him motives irresistibly inclining him to virtue, as defined above: political freedom is an essential means to the cultivation of his mind in the greatest degree; and political freedom and knowledge, successively the cause and effect of each other, would carry him on indefinitely in improvement of mind and happiness of condition: by the unrestrained cultivation of knowledge, and universal political freedom, it is possible to make every individual happy, and happy in a higher degree than the most fortunate is at present.*

It is not possible for us, in the limits of this sketch of Mr. Godwin's life, to examine the merits of the respective arguments of that writer and his opponents: but one remark is too important to this great question to be omitted. Mr. Godwin's adversaries were inconsistent in their objections: they represented him, in one and the same picture, as a visionary whose schemes were too grand to be practised, from the inherent defects of human nature, and as a systematical advocate of profligacy and vice. We are inclined to treat, with a contempt of his understanding, the person who seriously entertains the latter of these objections. It would be,

indeed, to possess a bold and ardent temper, if we were implicitly to believe that men in general will ever answer all the claims that Mr. Godwin's system makes upon them of integrity, fortitude, and benevolence. But we think it may be asserted, without a probability of contradiction from those whose real object is the happiness of mankind, that it is impracticable to ascend into the region of Mr. Godwin's speculations without improvement of the heart and enlargement of the understanding, and without carrying along with us into the world, we are obliged to act in, something, to purify our conduct, and ameliorate our condition.

In 1794, appeared Mr. Godwin's novel of Caleb Williams. His former production had so completely established his reputation for genius, that it can hardly be said this novel increased his fame. It proved the versatility of his powers; but the creative faculties, the richness, eloquence, and passion, displayed in Political Justice, were not excelled in Caleb Williams, although the latter was a form in which they were more obvious to the vulgar. Perhaps a work on ethics is never sufficient of itself to ensure the undiminished fame of a writer. Investigations of that kind, even when they produce facts, are in the nature of discoveries in arts, which are rendered insignificant by farther improvements in the same art. A work of imagination, if conducted on the principles of human actions and enlivened by copiousness of invention, is eternal in its reputation. Mr. Godwin's Caleb Williams, therefore, gave permanency, rather than accession of quantity, to his fame.

In October, 1794, Mr. Godwin wrote a pamphlet entitled, Cursory Strictures on the Charge delivered by Lord Chief-Justice Eyre to the Grand Jury on the 2d of October, 1794. In the charge which preceded the memorable state-trials of that year, certain doctrines were broached relative to the crime of high-treason, on the impression of which on the public mind probably depended the lives of the persons accused. The temper

and circumstances of the times gave these doctrines such popularity, that almost instantaneously it was a current opinion that the accused were guilty, and would be convicted. Mr. Godwin saw the fallacy and danger of the reasoning in the charge; and, having employed a friend to write to his dictating, within eight-and-forty hours, produced his Cursory Strictures.—They first appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*, and thence were copied into other papers; and were, at the same time, sent to the press in the form of a pamphlet. On the day the pamphlet was published, the bookseller received an intimation that he would be prosecuted if he sold another copy. He stopped the sale; and another publisher was of course to be sought. But the business of the Cursory Strictures was already completed.—The subtle mischiefs of the charge were exhibited in the Strictures with their natural undisguised deformity and coarseness.—The public tide was turned; and, instead of the guilt and conviction of the accused, nothing was heard of, in the streets and places of resort, but the flagrancy of the offences of the change.

Cursory Strictures afford a fine example of that species of writing. The author's vehement indignation, when he presents the charge to the public view, stript of its cunning, is a beautiful contrast to his cool and steady temper in removing its artful coverings.

In 1795, Mr. Godwin published an edition of Political Justice, in 8vo. There is, in this edition, something to endear him to every generous mind, intent only on the discovery of truth. In revising the opinions of that book, in the interval between the first and second edition, he thought some were erroneous; and, with the candour becoming the value of the inquiry, he availed himself of the second edition to inform his readers of the mistakes. The principal difference in the two editions will be found in the treating of the four following topics: *Property; political change; marriage; and sincerity.*

Mr. Godwin, in entertaining that great and comprehensive principle, *that there is no portion of our time or property which virtue does not inflexibly apply to some definite use*, stated, in the first edition, as a natural result, that the existence of property in the hands of individuals, with the rights and powers ascribed to it by the law, is an error in politics. In the second edition, he qualifies the statement by acknowledging that the several members of society ought to be allowed a discretion in the use of the property they earn; and that, although it is still true that it is their duty to employ every particle of property according to some mode dictated by the occasion, and not by their caprice, it is inconsistent with political liberty to superintend and direct the application through the medium of political regulations.

In the first edition, Mr. Godwin, in speaking of *political change*, seems to have betrayed an impatience for the hour of its arrival; with the condition, constantly annexed, however, of its being forwarded only by opinion, unassisted with force. In the second edition, he most explicitly and strenuously maintains that there exists, in the nature of things, a necessity for a slow as well as gradual change.

In urging his objections to *marriage*, as it exists at present, Mr. Godwin had left it as a question he did not decide, whether the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, or the selection of an individual of one sex by an individual of the other, would be the result of his system; but, in the second edition, he decides the question distinctly in favour of the latter.

Sincerity, Mr. Godwin, in the first edition, insisted upon as a quality never to be violated, even in any extreme case; and, in the second edition, he qualifies this statement by the rule of utility, which sometimes, he admits, may demand a sacrifice of sincerity.

Beside these changes in Mr. Godwin's opinions, which are certainly important to his view of the result of his scheme in society, there are many others of considerably less effect. We have nothing at present to do with the truth or error of Mr. Godwin's opinions. But it is a question material to this sketch of his character, how far his authority, as a moralist, ought to be affected by these alterations? And this question depends upon the resolution of a previous one, how far the alterations in Political Justice are destructive of the vital principles of the book as first described by the author? If his scheme remains entire in one statement and the other, and the alterations exhibit no more than improvement in subordinate parts, making the whole and even its outline stronger than before, then it will be admitted that Mr. Godwin's candour, in giving the actual state of his mind to his reader, is not the only motive of reliance on him, but that his authority is increased by his activity and penetration in the detection of his own erroneous deductions.

In 1796, Mr. Godwin published a volume of miscellaneous essays under the title of The Inquirer. This book assumes a very modest appearance, affecting to contain nothing more than hints on important subjects. But these are strongly conceived, and have an original cast; and the work affords one more proof of the writer's unquenchable passion for the discovery of truth.

In 1797, a third edition of Political Justice was published. A second and third edition of Caleb Williams were published in 1795 and 1797.

There is but one publication more from Mr. Godwin's pen that we have to notice, and that is connected with a story of peculiar interest. We allude to the Memoirs of Mrs. Godwin's Life. The story connected with that work deserves to be told at length, if it could come within our limits. It exhibited Mr. Godwin in that difficult moment for him, when the lofty doctrines he had

taught made heavy claims on his own practice. He had loudly proclaimed his objections to marriage, and his hatred of that state was indeed inveterate enough. The time came, when he was to subject the woman of his choice to unmerited obloquy, or comply with forms he could not approve. The situation was trying. But Mr. Godwin conceived the production of happiness to be the true criterion of morality; and he did not hesitate to choose, where unlimited mischiefs were to be incurred on one hand, and a definite and comparatively small evil endured on the other.

Mr. Godwin was married to Mrs. Wolstonecraft in 1797. He had slightly known that most celebrated and most injured woman before her residence in France. After her return, accident brought him into her company. He learnt her sorrowful situation at that period; and, with a zeal, the vulgar are accustomed to call romantic, attached himself to the design of restoring a noble mind to itself and society.——The elevated talents, and perhaps still more elevated temper, of Mrs. Wolstonecraft, were almost universally known in the world; and the sweetest of the feminine attractions were not less the qualities of this extraordinary woman than the grandeur of mind so generally acknowledged in her. She was one of those, that the powers of nature and the cultivation of society sometimes unite to form, for whom every sensible and polished mind almost loses its veneration, in the excess of its love.

The manner in which Mr. and Mrs. Godwin lived together may be presented as a model for conjugal life. Mr. Godwin's former dislike of marriage was occasioned chiefly by the tyranny it almost always includes. It is not surprising, therefore, that his enlightened views of that intercourse should enable him to shun that rock. But it is not by the mere absence of prominent mischiefs that we can describe Mr. Godwin's roof while his wife lived. To all that is dignified in the delicate relation of married persons, we must add those innumerable re-

quisites of domestic peace that are found in cheerfulness, good-will, and mutual deference to the adverse opinions that in two minds of great vigour, must almost necessarily exist. One of the passions that has the most powerful hold on Mr. Godwin's mind is, a fondness for conversation with persons of superior talents. He has always asserted it to be the most fertile cause of intellectual improvement, when rich and congenial souls chance to meet. We shall not, therefore, be very much in danger of exaggerating, if we endeavour to form a picture of the perfection to which he now carried this favourite scheme of pleasure and improvement. So many accessory temptations as conversation offered him, in his intercourse with Mrs. Godwin, would not fail to bring its cultivation in this instance, to a very unusual degree of excellence.

Mrs. Godwin died in September, 1797. In the scenes that belong to that afflicting period, Mr. Godwin was still to be exhibited in an unexpected light to those who were accustomed to regard him as a hard unfeeling theorist. He watched over the means attempted for her recovery with a fortitude and presence of mind that recalled to his friends the recollection of the philosopher they had been used to contemplate in his writings; but, when hope was gone, he abandoned himself to sorrow that seemed to assimilate him with the weakest of mankind; and when Mrs. Godwin was no more, he admited of no consolation, in the first moments of his anguish, but that of paying a superstitious respect to her remains.

It was in January, 1798, that Mr. Godwin published his Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Godwin. In May, of the same year, a second edition of that work appeared. A painful choice seems to present itself to every ingenuous person who composes memoirs of himself, or of any one so nearly connected with himself as in the present instance. He must either expose himself with disadvantage to the illiberal and malicious temper that exists in

the world, or violate the honour and integrity of his feelings. Yet, that the heart should be known in all its windings, is an object of infinite importance to him who would benefit the human race. Mr. Godwin did not prefer a cowardly silence, nor treachery to the public, having chosen to write. Perhaps such works as the Memoirs of Mrs. Godwin's Life, and Rousseau's Confessions, will ever disgrace their writers with the meaner spirits of the world; but, then, it is to be remembered, that this herd neither confers, nor can take away, fame.

Of Mr. Godwin's character, both as a man and a writer, the chief features are obvious in this slight sketch of his life. His writings display greatness of talent; and his life, virtue practised on principles supposed to be too refined to be applicable to ordinary affairs. Without laying claim to the power of raising his conduct to the elevation of his doctrines, which he does not hold to be necessary to their solidity, he perhaps is foremost among those who approach that rule, of making the happiness of society the object of moral conduct. And, if society never reaches that state of improvement in which that fine maxim is the general law, Mr. Godwin has, nevertheless, this recompense for his labours,—that there will always be a virtuous class to whom his speculations will have afforded new motives for the exertion of their humanity, to alleviate at least the miseries to which men, on that supposition, are unhappily doomed.

(1799.)

MR. COWPER.

(WITH SOME ORIGINAL PIECES OF HIS POETRY.)

IT has been frequently observed, that the life of a man of genius is marked by few incidents. The mind, which grows up amidst the privacies of study, and the character, which is framed by solitary meditation, belong in a great degree to a world of their own, from which the passions and events of ordinary life are equally excluded. There is, therefore, nothing very remarkable in the life of the poet to whom these pages are devoted. But in the history of those who have done honour to the Engliſh nation, and added richness to the English lauguage, no circumstance is trifling, and no incident unworthy of record; especially, as there is a sort of sanctity attached to these men, which diffuses itself to the minutest transaction in which they have been concerned.

Mr. Cowper was born at Berkhamstead, in Buckinghamshire, his father being the incumbent of the living of that place. Our poet is descended from the first Earl Cowper, Lord Chancellor of England, his grandfather being one of the children of that nobleman.

Mr. Cowper received his education at Westminster school; and a place of considerable profit, that of the clerkship to the House of Lords, a patent office, and which had been a considerable time in the family, was reserved for him. But upon his quitting school, and entering into the Temple, he found himself reluctant to undertake a function of activity and business. His native love of retirement, a constitutional timidity of mind,

and the languor of a very weak and precarious state of health, discouraged him from undertaking the duties of a situation, which required the most unremitting attention and diligence.

About this time, he lived in habits of close and familiar communication with Dr. Cotton, the elegant and ingenious author of the Fire-Side. His intimacy with this gentleman must, in no inconsiderable degree, have contributed to his inclination for poetry, by the instructions and example of his friend. But the first foundation of his poetic excellence, was laid by his familiarity with the best and most unaffected authors of antiquity.

At Huntingdon, a place in which he resided for a few years, he contracted a strong friendship with the Rev. Mr. Unwin, and on the death of that gentleman, accompanied his widow to Olney. It was in this village, and about this period of his life, that Mr. Cowper produced the earliest compositions that are traced to his pen.—The poems he wrote upon this occasion, were hymns published in a collection called the Olney Hymns, and distinguished by the letter C. They bear internal evidence of a cultivated understanding, and an original genius. His time was not wholly dedicated to that literary leisure, in which the mind, left to its own operations, pursues that line of pursuit, which is the most congenial to its taste, and the most adapted to its powers. In his garden, in his library, and in his daily walks, he seems to have disciplined his muse to the picturesque and vivid habits of description, which will always distinguish Cowper among our national poets. No writer, with the exception only of Thomson, seems to have studied nature with more diligence, and to have copied her with more fidelity. An advantage which he has gained over other men, by his disdaining to study her, " through the spectacles of books," as Dryden calls it, and by his pursuing her through her haunts, and watching her in all her attitudes, with the eye of a philosopher as well as of a poet.

Mr. Cowper had no propensity for public life; it was not, therefore, singular that he should have neglected the study of the law, on which he had entered. That knowledge of active life, which is so requisite for the legal profession, would scarcely be acquired in lonely wanderings on the banks of the Ouse, and in silent contemplations of the beauties of nature. In this retreat, he exchanged, for the society and converse of the muses, the ambition and tumult of a forensic life: dedicating his mind to the cultivation of poetry, and storing it with those images, which he derived from the inexhaustible treasury of a rich and varied scenery, in a most beautiful and romantic country.

The first volume of poems, which he published, consists of various pieces, on various subjects. It seems that he had been assiduous in cultivating a turn for grave and argumentative versification, on moral and ethical topics. Of this kind is the Table Talk, and several other pieces in the collection. He, who objects to these poems as containing too great a neglect of harmony in the arrangement of his words, and the use of expressions too prosaic, will condemn him on principles of criticism, which are by no means just, if the object and style of the subject be considered. Horace apologized for the carelessness of his own satires, which are, strictly speaking, only ethical and moral discourses, by observing that those topics required the *pedestrian*, and familiar diction, and a form of expression, not elevated to the heights of poetry. But if the reader will forego the delight of smooth versification, and recollect that poetry does not altogether consist in even and polished metre, he will remark in these productions no ordinary depth of thinking and of judgment, upon the most important objects of human concernment; and he will be occasionally struck with lines, not unworthy of Dryden, for their strength and dignity.

The lighter poems are well known. Of these, the verses supposed to be written by Alexander Selkirk, on

the island of Juan Fernandez, are in the most popular estimation. There is great originality in the following stanza.

> I am out of humanity's reach :
> I must finish my journey alone ;
> Never hear the sweet music of speech :
> I start at the sound of my own.

It would be absurd to give one general character of the pieces that were published in this volume, yet this is true concerning Mr. Cowper's productions; that in all the varieties of his style there may still be discerned the likeness and impression of the same mind ; the same unaffected modesty which always rejects unseasonable ambitions and ornaments of language ; the same easy vigour ; the same serene and cheerful hope derived from a steady and unshaken faith in the dogmas of christianity.

I am not prepared to affirm that Mr. Cowper derives any praise from the choice and elegance of his words; but he has the higher praise of having chosen them without affectation. He appears to have used them as he found them ; neither introducing fastidious refinements, nor adhering to obsolete barbarisms. He understands the whole science of numbers, and he has practised their different kinds with considerable happiness ; and if his verses do not flow so softly as the delicacy of a modern ear requires, that roughness, which is objected to his poetry, is his choice, not his defect. But this sort of critics, who admire only what is exquisitely polished, these lovers of " gentleness without sinews,"* ought to take into their estimate that vast effusion of thought which is so abundantly poured over the writings of Mr. Cowper, without which human discourse is only an idle combination of sounds and syllables.

* Dr. Sprat's Life of Cowley.

Let me hasten, however, to that work which has more peculiarly given to Cowper the character of a poet. After an interval of a few years, his Task was ushered into the world. The occasion that gave birth to it was a trivial one. A lady had requested him to write a piece in blank verse, and gave him the sofa for his subject. This he expanded into one of the finest moral poems of which the English language has been productive.

It is written in blank verse, of which the construction, though in some respects resembling Milton's, is truly original and characteristic. It is not too stately for familiar description, nor too depressed for sublime and elevated imagery. If it has any fault, it is that of being too much laden with idiomatic expression, a fault which the author, in the rapidity with which his ideas and his utterance seem to have flowed, very naturally incurred.

In this poem his fancy ran with the most excursive freedom. The poet enlarges upon his topics, and confirms his argument by every variety of illustration. He never, however, dwells upon them too long, and leaves off in such a manner, that it seems, it was in his power to have said more.

The arguments of the poem are various. The works of nature, the associations with which they exhibit themselves, the designs of Providence, and the passions of men. Of one advantage the writer has amply availed himself. The work not being rigidly confined to any precise subject, he has indulged himself in all the laxity and freedom of a miscellaneous poem. Yet he has still adhered so faithfully to the general laws of congruity, that whether he inspires the softer affections into his reader, or delights him with keen and playful raillery, or discourses on the ordinary manners of human nature, or holds up the bright pictures of religious consolation to his mind, he adopts, at pleasure, a diction just and

appropriate, equal in elevation to the sacred effusions of Christian rapture, and sufficiently easy and familiar for descriptions of domestic life; skilful alike in soaring without effort, and descending without meanness.

He who desires to put into the hands of youth a poem which, not destitute of poetic embellishment, is free from all matter of a licentious tendency, will find in the Task a book adapted to his purpose. It would be the part of an absurd and extravagant austerity, to condemn those poetical productions in which the passion of love constitues the primary feature. In every age that passion has been the concernment of life, the theme of the poet, the plot of the stage. Yet there is a sort of amorous sensibility, bordering almost on morbid enthusiasm, which the youthful mind too frequently imbibes from the glowing sentiments of the poets. Their genius describes, in the most splendid colours, the operations of a passion which requires rebuke instead of incentive, and leads to the most grovelling sensuality the enchantment of a rich and creative imagination. But in the Task of Cowper, there is no licentiousness of description. All is grave, and majestic, and moral. A vein of religious thinking pervades every page, and he discourses, in a strain of the most finished poetry, on the insufficiency and vanity of human pursuits.

Nor is he always severe. He is perpetually enlivening the mind of his reader by sportive descriptions, and by representing, in elevated measures, ludicrous objects and circumstances, a species of the mock-heroic, of which Phillips* was the first author. In this latter sort of style Mr. Cowper has displayed great powers of versification, and great talents for humour. Of this, the historical account he has given of chairs, in the first book of the Task, is a striking specimen.

The attention, however, is the most detained by those passages, in which the charms of rural life, and

* The Splendid Shilling.

the endearments of domestic retirement, are pourtrayed. It is in vain to search in any poet of ancient or modern times for more pathetic touches of representation. The Task abounds with incidents, introduced as episodes, and interposing an agreeable relief to the grave and serious parts of the poetry. Who has not admired his crazy Kate? A description in which the calamity of a disordered reason is painted with admirable exactness and simplicity.

"She begs an idle pin of all she meets."

I know of no poet who would have introduced so minute a circumstance into his representation; yet who is there that does not perceive that it derives its effect altogether from the minuteness with which it is drawn?

It were an endless task to point out the beauties of the poem. It is now established in its reputation, and, by universal consent, it has given Cowper a very high place amongst our national poets. Let those who cannot perceive its beauties, dwell with rapture on its defects. The taste or the sensibility of that man is little to be envied, who, in the pride of a fastidious criticism, would be reluctant in attributing to Mr. Cowper, the praise and character of a poet, because in the tide and rapidity of his fancy he has not been scrupulous in the arrangement of a word or the adjustment of a cadence.

The next work, which Mr. Cowper published, was a translation of the Iliad, and the Odyssey. The design was worthy of his talents. His object was to present the father of poesy to the English reader, not in English habiliments, and modern attire, but in the graceful and antique habit of his own times. He therefore adopted blank verse. Rhyme, by the uniformity of its cadence and the restrictions which it imposed, rendered the task of translation evidently a paraphrase, because the poet,

who could not express the meaning of his author in phrase, and diction, that would accord with his own numbers, must be, of necessity, compelled to mix his own meaning with his author's, to soften, and dilute it, as it were, to his own versification. This is the disadvantage of Mr. Pope's Homer; a work, which it were blasphemy to despise, and folly to undervalue, while variety and harmony of numbers retain their dominion over the mind of man. Yet no one will deny, that Mr. Pope has frequently forgotten Homer; and that in some passages he has impaired the strength, and debased the majesty of his original. Let it be remembered, however, that it is no mean honour to any poet to have followed the bold and lofty steps of the divine bard; and that he is not to be censured, though he should lag behind him in his course through that sublime region, which Homer only could tread with safety, and with confidence.

Quid enim contendat hirundo
Cycnis? aut quidnam tremulis facere artubus hoedi
Consimile in curfû possint, ac fortis equi vis. LUCRET.

It is a wanton and foolish criticism to compare the translation of Mr. Pope with that of Mr. Cowper. The merits of each are distinct and appropriate. Mr. Pope has exhibited Homer as he would have sung, had he been born in England. Mr. Cowper has attempted to pourtray him, as he wrote in Greece, adhering frequently to the peculiarities of his own idiom, and endeavouring to preserve his strength and energy, as well as his harmony and smoothness.

There are several fugitive pieces by Mr. Cowper which have not yet been published. I shall close this article by presenting two of them to the reader.

The poplars are fell'd, and adieu to the shade,
And the whispering sound of the cool colonade;
The winds play no longer, and sing in their leaves,
Nor the Ouse, on its surface, their image receives.

Twelve years had elaps'd since I last took a view
Of my favourite field, and the place where they grew;
When, behold, on their sides, on the grass they were laid,
And I sat on the trees under which I had stray'd.

The blackbird had sought out another retreat,
Where the hazels afford him a screen from the heat:
And the scene where his notes have oft charmed me before,
Shall resound with his smooth-flowing ditty no more.

My fugitive years are all hasting away,
And I must myself lie as lowly as they,
With a turf at my breast, and a stone at my head,
Ere another such grove rises up in its stead.

The change both my heart and my fancy employs;
I reflect on the frailty of man and his joys;
Short liv'd as we are, yet our pleasures, we see,
Have a still shorter date, and die sooner than we.

FROM THE ANNUAL BILL OF MORTALITY, NORTHAMPTON.

—Placidaq: ibi demum morte quievit. VIRG.

Then calm at length he breath'd his soul away.

" Oh most delightful hour by man
" Experienc'd here below;
" The hour that terminates his span,
" His folly, and his woe:

" Worlds should not bribe me back to tread
" Again life's dreary waste;
" To see my days again o'erspread
" With all the gloomy past.

" My home, henceforth, is in the skies,
" Earth, seas, and sun, adieu;
" All heaven unfolded to my eyes,
" I have no sight for you.

Thus spake Aspatio, firm possest
Of Faith's supporting rod;
Then breath'd his soul into its rest,
The bosom of his God.

He was a man among the few
  Sincere on Virtue's side,
And all his strength from scripture drew,
  To hourly use apply'd.

That rule he priz'd, by that he fear'd,
  He hated, hop'd and lov'd,
Nor ever frown'd or sad appear'd,
  But when his heart had rov'd.

For he was frail as thou or I,
  And evil felt within;
But when he felt it, heav'd a sigh,
  And loath'd the thought of sin.

Such liv'd Aspatio, and at last
  Call'd up from earth to heav'n;
The gulph of death triumphant pass'd
  By gales of blessing driven.

His joys be MINE, each reader cries,
  When my last hour arrives:
They shall be yours, my verse replies,
  Such ONLY be your lives.

(1799.)

MR. WARREN HASTINGS.

THE prospects of Mr. Hastings, in the early part of his life, were not very favourable. Although descended from an ancient family that formerly held considerable landed possessions, his more immediate ancestors were not in affluent circumstances. His father, who was a clergyman, and enjoyed a benefice at Churchill, a village near Daylesford, in Worcestershire, seems to have left him without fortune; for the expence as well as the care of his education devolved on an uncle, Mr. Howard Hastings, who sent him to Westminster school; on whose death he was thrown entirely on the benevolence of strangers, Doctor Nichols, the head master of Westminster, having generously offered to furnish money to complete his education at Oxford, where he then was, and Mr. Creswick, an India Director and executor to his uncle, proposing to send him to Bengal with a writer's appointment. Whatever Mr. Hastings' pecuniary circumstances were at this period, the offer of Dr. Nichols is a strong presumption in behalf of his talents and character as a youth; and the philosopher may be allowed to lament that he did not prefer a countinuance at college, where there was a chance of his becoming a benefactor to human nature, through the medium of literary employments.

Mr. Hastings accepted of the India Director's offer; and, sailing from England in the winter of 1749, arrived at Calcutta in the ensuing summer. The education of Mr. Hastings for public life may be properly dated from this period. Mr. Hastings says of himself, in his defence during the impeachment, "With the year 1750, I en-

tered the service of the East India Company ; and from that service I have derived all my official habits, all the knowledge which I possess, and all the principles which were to regulate my conduct in it." This school, it must be confessed, is not very fit to produce a mind of comprehensive philanthropy. An able agent for a trading company, or a skilful task-master of provinces subjugated to a foreign yoke, it might well prepare ; but it seems to possess no circumstances that in their nature could go beyond those objects. Whatever were its capacities, Mr. Hastings was fairly provided to avail himself of them all. He was acute, observing, and enterprising ; and he soon was placed in the midst of affairs, with great exterior advantages. He was at first attached to one of the factories in Bengal; from which he was soon sent on business into the interior parts of that province, where to novelty of scene were added opportunity for study, and various interesting motives for enquiry. Mr. Hastings was not accustomed to throw away any means of improvement. He applied himself assiduously to the study of the Persian language ; to the general cultivation of his talents ; and to a minute observation of the circumstances and nature of the English establishments in India.

In 1756, Surajah Doulah, having made himself master of Calcutta, issued orders for the seizing of all the English in Bengal, and Mr. Hastings was one of those who were carried prisoners to Moorshadabad, that tyrant's capital. Even at that court, Mr. Hastings had already acquired protectors. He received many marks of favour; and was permitted to reside at the Dutch factory of Calcapore. When Colonel Clive (afterwards Lord Clive) retook Calcutta, Mr. Hastings served as a volunteer in his army, and was present at the night attack of the Nabob's camp.

On the restoration of the company's affairs by Colonel Clive, Mr. Hastings returned to his civil employments ; and when Surajah Doulah was deposed, Mr. Hastings

was appointed the English minister at the court of his successor. In that post he recommended himself to further notice; and, in 1761, was made a member of the government of Bengal. He returned to England about four years after this last appointment; but having brought with him only part of his acquisitions, and his remittances of the remainder in some manner failing, he endeavoured to make interest to return to India; and it is a curious fact, that this man who afterwards became all powerful with the company, could not at that time obtain such a permission.

Mr. Hastings now lived in England, cultivating literature, and enjoying the society of men of genius: among whom were the great Lord Mansfield and Dr. Samuel Johnson.* In 1766, the year after his return, he made a proposition to establish a professorship of the Persian language at Oxford, with a view, among other motives, to his obtaining the emoluments of that situation, in aid of his own income, which is said to have been very narrow; but a surprising revolution was preparing in his fortunes. In the winter of the same year, Mr. Hastings being examined at the bar of the house of commons, during an enquiry into the affairs of the company, attracted general notice. And in 1767, he was appointed a member of the council of Madras: with a provision that he was to succeed to the government of that presidency. Mr. Hastings remained in that situation till 1771, when the company appointed him gover-

* Three letters to him from the Doctor have been preserved by Mr. Boswell; who, speaking of the condescension with which Mr. Hastings communicated to him these letters, delineates the following short sketch of his character: "Warren Hastings, a man whose regard reflects dignity even upon Johnson; a man, the extent of whose abilities was equal to that of his power; and who, by those who are fortunate enough to know him in private life, is admired for his literature and taste, and beloved for the candor, moderation, and mildness, of his character. Were I capable of paying a suitable tribute of admiration to him, I should certainly not withhold it at a moment when it is not possible that I should be suspected of being an interested flatterer. But how weak would be my voice, after that of millions whom he governed."

nor of Bengal. In 1773, he was named governor general of Bengal for five years, under the authority of an act of parliament. In 1778, he was continued for one year more; in 1779, again for one year; in 1781, for ten years; and in 1784, his appointment was confirmed by the act of parliament that formed the present government of India. In 1785, however, he returned to England, having been at the head of the government of Bengal more than thirteen years, and possessing during that time, absolute power over an extent of territory as large and as populous as all the nations of Europe united!

It is impossible for any man of integrity hastily to touch the scenes of Mr. Hastings' interesting and splendid government in India, without apprehension and uneasiness. To screen the public delinquent, is among the greatest of public crimes; and to traduce the character of individuals is the blackest of private wrongs: but to shun both of these mistakes, would demand a quantity of time, and a laboriousness of investigation that is not to be expected in a work of this kind. It is, perhaps, the just mean to decline the discussion here of the moral character of Mr. Hastings' government, and to furnish a mere sketch of the prominent events.

The government of Bengal, with Mr. Hastings at its head, was vested, in 1772, with almost unlimited powers. It had been the custom, from the time the company acquired the sovereignty of that immense province, in 1765, to intrust the departments of the revenues, and of judicial proceedings to ministers, natives of the country. The annual revenues were a million below the sum they were calculated to produce. Mr. Hastings effected a great revolution. He changed the whole face of the interior administration in the departments of finance and judicature. He had scarcely time to breathe from these operations, when war broke out with France, and the English territories in India were at once pressed by a great force from Europe, and the principal native powers of the country. In the midst of these difficulties Mr.

Hastings had to contend a long time with a powerful opposition in his own council. In defiance of so many untoward circumstances, the company's affairs wore a better aspect. Their annual revenue was increased from three to five millions. Their enemies among the native Princes were destroyed or won to their alliance—and India had even something to offer to France towards the adjustment of peace for England. Nothing of all this can be denied. Perhaps under the mixed system of trade and conquest that belongs to the English possessions in India, no man could have done more than Mr. Hastings did for his employers. But then, it is still to be asked—what was the price suffering humanity gave for a trading company's increase of revenue, and acquisitions of territory ?

During Mr. Hastings' administration, the affairs of the company and the conduct of their servants in India, were the subjects of various discussions and proceedings in the house of commons. Twice a vote passed for the recall of Mr. Hastings. On one of these occasions, the house came to that resolution on the following motion of Mr. Dundas, at present one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state.

" That Warren Hastings, Esq. governor-general of Bengal, and William Hornby, Esq. president of the council at Bombay, having, in sundry instances, acted in a manner repugnant to the honor and policy of this nation, and thereby brought great calamities on India, and enormous expences on the East India Company, it is the duty of the directors of the said company to pursue all legal and effectual means for the removal of the said governor-general and president from their respective offices, and to recall them to Great Britain."

In consequence of these votes, the directors came to correspondent resolutions; but their measures were defeated by subsequent resolutions of the proprietors, the majority of whom were bent on continuing Mr. Hastings in his employment.

On the 20th of June, 1785, the day of Mr. Hastings' arrival in England, Mr. Burke gave notice of his intention to move an impeachment of him in the ensuing session. On the 4th of April 1786, Mr. Burke exhibited twenty articles of impreachment against Mr. Hastings, to which he afterwards added two more :* but it was not till April

* The twenty-two articles, occupy an octavo volume of 460 closely printed pages; the following are their subftance:

I. With gross injustice, cruelty, and treachery against the faith of nations, in hiring British soldiers for the purpose of extirpating the innocent and helpless people who inhabited the Rohillas.

II. With using the authority delegated to him through the East India Company, for treating the King Shaw Allum, Emperor of Indostan, or otherwise the Great Mogul, with the greatest cruelty, in bereaving him of considerable territory, and withholding forcibly that tribute of 26 lacks of rupees, which the company engaged to pay as an annual tribute or compensation for their holding in his name the Duannee of the rich and valuable provinces of Bengal, and Bahar, and Orissa.

III. With various instances of extortion, and other deeds of mal-administration against the Rajah of Benares. This article consisted of three different parts, in each of which Mr. Hastings was charged with the most wanton oppression and cruelties. —He gave in papers concerning the rights of the Rajah, his expulsion, and the sundry revolutions which have been effected by the British influence under the controul of the late governor-general in that zemindary.

IV. The numerous and insupportable hardships to which the royal family of Oude had been reduced, in consequence of their connection with the supreme council.

V. With having, by no less than six revolutions, brought the fertile and beautiful provinces of Farruckabad to a state of the most deplorable ruin.

VI. With impoverishing and depopulating the whole country of Oude, and rendering that country, which was once a garden, an uninhabited desart.

VII. With a wanton, an unjust, and pernicious exercise of his powers, and the great situation of trust which he occupied in India, in overturning the ancient establishments of the country, and extending an undue influence by conniving at extravagant contracts, and appointing inordinate salaries.

10th, 1787, that the impeachment was voted; it was then carried without a division. The following was the committee appointed to manage the prosecution, in the name of the commons:

Right Hon. Edmund Burke; Right Hon. C. J. Fox; R. B. Sheridan, Esq.; Right Hon. T. Pelham; Right Hon. W. Wyndham; Sir Gilbert Elliott, Bt.; Charles Grey, Esq.; William Adam, Esq.; Sir John Anstruther; M. A. Taylor, Esq.; Lord Viscount Maitland; Dudley Long, Esq.; General J. Burgoyne; Hon. George A. North; Hon. Andrew St. John; Hon. A. Fitzherbert; Colonel Fitzpatrick; John Courtenay, Esq.; A. Rogers; Sir James Erskine.

On the 13th February, 1788, the trial commenced in Westminster-hall; and SEVEN YEARS afterwards, on the 23d of April, 1795, judgment was pronounced by the Lords on the charges, most of them severally, and Mr. Hastings was acquitted of them all.*

VIII. With receiving money against the orders of the company, the act of parliament, and his own sacred engagements; and applying that money to purposes totally improper and unauthorised.

IX. With having resigned by proxy for the obvious purpose of retaining his situation, and denying the deed in person, in direct opposition to all those powers under which he acted.

X. Accuses him of treachery to Muzuffer Jung, who had been placed under his guardianship.

XI. Charges him with enormous extravagance and bribery in various contracts, with a view to enrich his dependants and favorites.

These are the principal; the other eleven are chiefly connected with, and dependent upon the foregoing.

* Twenty-nine were the greatest number of peers who voted on this occasion. On the first article of the impeachment, twenty three voted *not guilty*, and six *guilty*. On two of the articles the vote of *not guilty* was unanimous. The Lord Chancellor pro-

The unprecedented duration of the trial, was an evil, wherever the fault lay, of an enormous extent, both as it bore upon the public and Mr. Hastings, but it was more especially grievous to the latter. The expences to the public of this trial amounted to more than 100,000l.; and Mr. Hastings' law expences to more than 60,000l. In consideration of the latter, and of his services, the East India Company voted him an annual pension of 400l. for twenty-eight years and an half, amounting to 114,000l. of which the company gave him 42,000l. in advance, and lent him beside 50,000. And it is just to observe, that the company took other measures to declare their belief of his innocence. Mr. Hastings is said to be a good architect and engineer. His literary attainments are certainly very extraordinary for a man who passed more than thirty-three years of his life in active scenes of business in such a service as that of the East India Company, and who entered their service before he was seventeen. Mr. Hastings is now in the 66th year of his age.

We shall conclude this memoir with the following elegant specimen of Mr. Hastings' poetical powers. It is a rare instance that a man unites in his own person, various talents, in so great a degree of excellence. This beautiful imitation of the Otium Divos of Horace, is said to have been written while on his passage to England, in 1785.

For eaſe the harraſſed ſeaman prays,
When equinoctial tempests raiſe
The Cape's ſurrounding wave;
When hanging o'er the reef he hears
The cracking maſt, and ſees or fears,
Beneath, his wat'ry grave.

nounced the judgment in the following words: "Warren Hastings, Esq. I am to ac-
"quaint you that you are ACQUITTED of the ARTICLES of IMPEACHMENT,
"&c. exhibited against you by the House of Commons, for High Crimes and Mis-
"demeanors, and all things contained therein, and you are discharged, paying your
"fees."

For ease the slow Mahratta spoils,
And hardier Seik erratic toils,
  While both their ease forego;
For ease which neither gold can buy,
Nor robes, nor gems, which oft bely
  The cover'd heart bestow.
For neither gold nor gems combin'd
Can heal the soul or suffering mind,
  Lo! where their owner lies:
Perch'd on his couch Distemper breaths,
And Care, like smoke, in turbid wreaths,
  Round the gay ceiling flies.
He who enjoys nor covets more,
The lands his father held before,
  Is of true bliss possess'd:
Let but his mind unfetter'd tread,
Far as the paths of knowledge lead,
  And wise, as well as blest.
Nor fears his peace of mind annoy,
Lest printed lines his fame destroy,
  Which labor'd years have won;
Nor pack'd Committees break his rest,
Nor avarice sends him forth in quest
  Of climes beneath the Sun.
Short is our span; then why engage
In schemes for which man's transient age
  Was ne'er by fate design'd?
Why slight the gifts of Nature's hand?
What wanderer from his native land
  E'er left himself behind?
The restless thought and wayward will,
And discontent attend him still,
  Nor quit him while he lives;
At sea, Care follows in the wind;
At land, it mounts the pad behind,
  Or with the post-boy drives.
He who would happy live to-day,
Must laugh the present ills away,
  Nor think of woes to come;
For come they will, or soon or late,
Since mix'd at best is man's estate,
  By Heav'n's eternal doom.
To ripen'd age Clive liv'd renown'd,
With lacks enrich'd, with honours crown'd,
  His valour's well-earn'd meed.
Too long, alas! he liv'd to hate
His envied lot, and died too late,
  From life's oppression freed.

An early death was ELLIOTT's doom;
I saw his opening virtues bloom,
And manly sense unfold,
Too soon to fade. I bade the stone
Record his name, 'midst hordes unknown,
Unknowing what it told,
To thee, perhaps, the Fates may give,
I wish they may, in health to live,
Herds, flocks, and fruitful fields;
Thy vacant hours in mirth to shine;
With these the Muse, already thine,
Her present bounty yields.
For me, O SHORE, I only claim,
To merit, not to seek for, fame,
The good and just to please;
A state above the fear of want,
Domestic love, Heaven's choisest grant,
Health, leisure, peace, and ease.

(1799.)

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL

SIR RALPH ABERCROMBY,

AMONG the military commanders of the present period, no one has obtained greater or more just celebrity, for his virtues as a man, and his abilities as an officer, than the subject of this memoir.

Sir Ralph Abercromby is of a very ancient and distinguished family in North-Britain, possessed of an estate bearing the same name. His father had a numerous family, and according to the custom of the country, which gave them birth, the sons were destined for

active employments.* Each of the brothers in his peculiar profession, has been engaged in supporting the state, in some one of its departments or dominions, and Sir Ralph has no less exerted himself in the same cause, on different stations, and in dissimilar climates.

The first commission he bore, was as cornet of the 3d dragoon guards, into which he entered on the 23d May, 1756. He obtained a lieutenancy in the same regiment on the 19th February, 1760; and continued in this corps till the 24th April, 1762, when he obtained a company in the 3d horse. In this last regiment he rose to the rank of major and lieutenant-colonel, to the former on the

* Thus we find one of the brothers of Sir Ralph brought up to the law, another to maritime pursuits, and two more to a military life. The senior filled, with great reputation to his character, the honourable office of a Lord of Session, in which he died. The next brother entered into the sea-service of the East-India Company, and made several voyages as a Commander of one of their ships, retiring from the fatigues of duty, with a wife he had married in India, and with a considerable fortune. He died in the year 1792; and, to the surprize of the world, and the disappointment of his nearest relations, left almost the whole of his property to his lady, who was married soon after to her solicitor, but survived that connection only a short time. From the nature of her will, the last hope of the Captain's relations was extinguished. The *Conveyancer* had, in one short *trip* to the land of Matrimony, possessed himself of all which the indefatigable navigator had amassed in his several voyages across the Pacific and Indian Oceans. But as no part of the family could be said to be in straitened circumstances, this unexpected event was accompanied with very little regret. So far as concerned our General himself, whose disposition is the reverse of mercenary, the transfer of his brother's property from his family, did not lessen, in the smallest degree, the affection he bore his memory. James, a third brother of the General, was killed in America, in the hard contested battle of Bunker's-hill. He was at the time a lieutenant-colonel in the 22d foot. His surviving brother Robert, is not behind him in military rank. He is at this time colonel of the 75th, or Highland regiment, lately stationed at Bombay, the presidency of which derived signal benefits from its Colonel's active zeal, and approved skill. His judicious and successful march across a vast extent of country, to effect a junction with the army of Lord Cornwallis, at Seringapatam, in 1792, may be considered as having tended to secure the East-India possessions in the Carnatic, against that once restless and aspiring prince, Tippoo Sultan; and well entitled him to succeed as Commander in Chief of his Majesty's and the East-India Company's forces in Bengal.

6th June 1770, and to the latter the 19th May, 1773. In November, 1780, he was included in the list of brevet-colonels, and on the 3d of the same month, next year, was made colonel of the 103d or King's Irish infantry, a new-raised regiment, but which being reduced at the peace in 1783, the Colonel was placed on half-pay. On the 28th September, 1787, he was promoted to the rank of major-general, and on the 17th September, 1790, he obtained the command of the 69th regiment of foot, from which, in April, 1792, he was removed to an older corps, viz. the 6th, from which he was again removed, the 5th November, 1795, to the 7th regiment of dragoons.

Sir Ralph was employed on the continent soon after the present war broke out. On the 25th of April, 1793, he had the local rank of lieutenant-general conferred on him; and although the ultimate issue of those two campaigns afford but a small amount of glory for the most meritorious officers to emblazon their military escutcheons with, yet Sir Ralph was entitled to a full share. He enjoyed on all occasions not only the esteem, but the confidence, of the Duke of York.

He commanded the advanced-guard in the action on the heights at Cateau, April 16th, 1794. The Duke of York, in his dispatches relative to this affair, makes the following commendatory representation of his conduct: "I have particular obligations to Lieutenant-general Sir William Erskine, as well as to Major-general Abercromby." His Royal Highness further adds, in his dispatches of the 19th of May: "The abilities and coolness with which Lieutenant-general Abercromby, and Major-general Fox conducted their different corps, under these trying circumstances, require that I should particularly notice them." The Lieutenant-general was wounded at Nimiguen, the 27th of October following.

No part of the service of this able officer had ever been so painful to him, or called so forcibly upon his hu-

manity and exertion, as the duty he performed when the army retreated from Holland, in the winter of 1794. The guards, as well as all the sick were left under his conduct and care, after Lieutenant-general Harcourt had gone into cantonments behind the Ems. His sensibility was as conspicuous as his judgment, in the disastrous march from Deventer to Oldensaal, at which last place his corps arrived on the 30th and 31st of January, 1795. This was the first time in the General's life, when his talents could not keep pace with circumstances; but the incessant harrassing of a victorious enemy on the one hand; bad roads, and the inclemency of the weather on the other; added to the difficulty of procuring shelter for the men, were sufficient to depress the spirits of the bravest, and leave the most sagacious mind without resources.

The affairs in the West-Indies, as left by Sir Charles Grey, had exhibited a less pleasing aspect since that Commander's return to England. The French, after their successes nearer home, had made very considerable, and even unexpected exertions to recover their losses abroad. This object they attained to a certain degree; they repossessed themselves of Guadaloupe and St. Lucia, made good a landing at more than one place on the island of Martinico, and effected partial descents, and hoisted the tri-coloured flag on several forts in the islands of St. Vincent's, Grenada, and Marie-Galante. They possessed themselves of immense booty from the property of the rich emigrants on the several islands, but especially on that of Gaudaloupe. On this last only, according to the report made by Fermond to the Committee of Public Safety, the value was estimated at the enormous sum of 1,800 millions of livres.

To stop the ravages thus committed on the British allies, for such the French emigrants were then considered; and to check the depredations on our own colonies, a fleet was fitted out in the autumn of 1795, to convey a military force to the West-Indies, sufficient to

answer the necessity of the case. To General Sir Ralph Abercromby was given the charge of the troops, and he was appointed Commander in Chief of the forces in the West-Indies. He accordingly repaired to Southampton on the 30th of August, 1795, and took charge of the remainder of the British troops that had been under the command of the Earl of Moira. Sir Ralph Abercromby was unfortunately detained in that district so long beyond the expected period of his departure, that after the troops had assembled, and were embarked, the equinox set in, and several transports were lost in endeavouring to clear the Channel. Notwithstanding these disasters, and in spite of the lateness of the season, every exertion was made, and the General, with his staff, &c. made the best of their way to the West-Indies.

On his arrival, no time was lost in forming a plan for the operations of the army, and as soon as the season permitted, the troops moved in every quarter. On the 24th of March, a detachment suddenly attacked and obtained possession of the island of Grenada. The General afterwards found no difficulty in obtaining possession of the settlements of Demarara, and Issequibo, in the province of Surinam, in South-America.

The commander in Chief had made the necessary arrangements with the Admiral for conveying the troops destined for an attack upon the island of St. Lucia, and the armament sailed the 26th of April. The enemy had a garrison in Morne Fortune, of nearly 2,000 well-disciplined black troops, some hundred whites, and a number of black people who had taken refuge in the fortress. In carrying the battery Seche, within a short distance of the works of Morne Fortune, the difficulties of approach were found greater, from the intricate nature of the country, than were expected. The General was obliged to undertake a laborious communication from Choc Bay to that of Morne, by means of a new road, capable of allowing the transportation of heavy cannon.

These difficulties, with numerous other impediments which the enemy threw in the way of the army, he, however, overcame; and upon the evening of the 24th of May, a suspension of arms was desired till noon the next day: a capitulation for the whole island ensued, and on the 26th, the garrison, to the amount of 2,000 men, marched out, laid down their arms, and became prisoners of war. Pigeon Island fell of course into the possession of the British commander.

Brigadier General Moore being left in quiet possession of the captured island, the General hastened the embarkation of the artillery and troops destined to act in St. Vincent's, and by the middle of June, every part of that valuable island was in the hands of the British troops.

The fortunate issue of all these services enabled the Commander in Chief to visit Grenada, where his presence may be supposed to have contributed, not a little, to conclude the hostilities still carried on under the orders of Major General Nicholls. Fedon, the celebrated chief, at the head of the insurgents, was not easily to be overcome; his native courage, and acquired talents, added to his fierceness of disposition, had drawn about him a mass of force, partly voluntary, partly constrained. Major General Nicholls was now ordered to straiten him in his retreat as much as possible, and to grant him no terms short of unconditional submission. The troops were successful every where, and nearly at the same hour, on the morning of the 19th of June, full possession was obtained of every post on the island.

The General having thus effected every thing which could be undertaken against the French, directed his attention to the Spanish island of Trinidad. The arrival of part of a new convoy from England, enabled him to undertake this expedition with confidence of success. The precision with which the fleet of ships of war and

transports had been assembled, prevented the loss of a moment, when the season for operations commenced. On the 16th of February, 1797, the fleet passed through the Bocas, or entrance into the gulph of Paria, where the Spanish Admiral, with four sail of the line, and a frigate, were found at anchor, under cover of the island of Gaspar-Grande, which was fortified. The British squadron worked up, and came an anchor opposite to, and nearly within gun-shot of the Spanish ships. The frigates and transports anchored higher up in the bay. The disposition was made for landing at day-light next morning, and for a general attack upon the town and ships of war. At two o'clock in the morning (the 17th), the Spanish squadron was perceived to be on fire ; the ships, except one line of battle, were all consumed, and that ship which escaped the conflagration, was taken possession of by the boats of the British fleet ; the enemy at the same time evacuated this quarter of the island. The General's whole attention was now paid to the town. As soon, therefore, as the troops were landed, about five hundred advanced to the westward of it, meeting but little opposition ; and before night they were masters of the town of Port d'Espangne, and of the whole neighbourhood, two small forts excepted. The next morning the Governor, Don Chalcon, capitulated with the conqueror, and the whole colony passed under the dominion of his Britannic Majesty.

Thus far our General had succeeded in fulfilling the wishes and instructions of his Sovereign. An unsuccessful attempt upon the Spanish island of Porto Rico, concluded his campaign of 1797, in the West Indies.

If nothing was gained to the country by this last attempt, no loss of reputation in its military character was sustained by the failure ; and indeed the manner in which the General was received on his return to Europe, testified the estimation in which his military talents were held by the British government.

On the 2d of November, 1796, while on this service, Sir, Ralph (for he had now been invested with a red ribbon), was presented to the second, or North British dragoons, commonly called the *Scots Greys;* and in the same year he was made Lieutenant Governor of the Isle of Wight, and afterwards still further rewarded with the more lucrative governments of Forts George and Augustus. On the 26th of January, 1797, he was raised to his present rank of lieutenant general.

The ferment in Ireland threatening every day to break out into a flame, Sir Ralph was not allowed to remain long in a state of repose. He was fixed upon to take the chief command of the forces in that kingdom. He paid great attention to the discipline of the army, and was anxious to restore to the soldiers that reputation, which had been sullied by repeated acts of licentiousness. His declaration "that their irregularity and insubordination had rendered them more formidable to their friends than to their enemies," however true, was deemed harsh by some who neither considered the delicacy and responsibility of his situation, nor the danger of military insubordination, by allowing disorders in any army, like those he complained of, to grow by example. The General's removal, however, from his command, was in no respect the effect of dissatisfaction on either side, but the result of an unanimous opinion, that it would be expedient and efficacious to unite the civil and military authority in the same person, the benefits of which had been so obvious in the dominions of the east. In this view of the precedent it was impossible not to fix upon the Marquis Cornwallis.

Sir Ralph has since been appointed to the chief command of his Majesty's forces in North Britain, and he was soon after employed in other commands of the highest importance.

His conduct in the memorable attack on the Helder Fort, and the consequent invasion of Holland last au-

tumn, needs not our panegyric ; and the circumstances are too fresh in the memory of the public to render the details necessary. This active and intelligent General is now invested with the principal command of our immense army in the Mediterranean ; and wherever the orders of government may direct the operation of his talents and bravery, new laurels may be anticipated for his brow.

Sir Ralph has not only served his country as a warrior, but as a legislator also. At the general election in 1774, when his father was living, he was chosen to represent the county of Kinross in Parliament, and he continued to sit in the House of Commons till the next election, in 1780. His brother at this time represents the same county.

His disposition, however, and perhaps his talents, are better adapted to the determined business of the field, than calculated to wade through the intricacies of political discussion. Sir Ralph Abercromby, therefore, ought more immediately to be considered as a soldier : as an independent character, he will, nevertheless, be estimable in private and political life. He is naturally reserved, and extremely silent in mixed society ; but was never known to betray the least symptom of haughtiness. Men of merit have easy access to him, and when engaged in any particular enterprize, officers of talents seldom escape his attention. His conduct, indeed, through life, appears to have been founded on the following remarkable lines written by Frederick the Great.

> Dans des honneurs obscurs vous ne vieillirez pas,
> Soldats, vous apprendrez à régir des soldats.

(1800.)

Dr. JAMES GREGORY,

PROFESSOR OF THE PRACTICE OF PHYSIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

IT has been not unaptly remarked, that the appearance of a man, whose pre-eminence in any branch of literature and science not only precludes emulation, but, as it were, far distances his contemporaries, and frequently proves hurtful to the general cultivation of that particular department of human knowledge. The sublimity of Newton's talents was so transcendent, that it required mathematicians of the greatest abilities to explain his writings, and fill up the chasm intervening between ordinary conceptions and exalted genius. Newton is without a rival, and, on considering the immense task of reaching the boundary of his powers, we had almost added, without a successor; for no one will venture to assert, that, since his time, the improvements in the higher parts of mathematics have been so progressive as to admit a comparison with those in other sciences. It has also been observed that the celebrity of a father is injurious to the literary reputation of a son. The successor of Linæus was a respectable scholar, and a man of an amiable character; but the merit of the great naturalist threw a shade over the abilities of his descendent. We forbear to mention similar instances connected with the present time, because our doing so might be regarded as invidious. Although by these preliminary remarks we do not mean, in the faintest degree, to insinuate that the gentleman, who is the subject of this biography, has degenerated from the worth of his immediate ancestor, yet the great and well merited fame of the latter has not contributed to exalt that of his son.

The family of Gregory have enjoyed, for nearly two centuries, a distinguished name in the republic of letters, and been particularly eminent for mathematical knowledge. This singular circumstance will be a sufficient apology to the reader, for the liberty we have taken in giving a concise history, or rather a genealogical enumeration, of most of the individuals of that erudite family. Every one, engaged in the pursuits of literature, must have experienced an occasional difficulty in ascertaining the productions of men, who are near relatives, bear the same name, have distinguished themselves by their writings, and obtained similar academic honours. We might instance the family of Munro, whose multifarious works on the art and science of medicine it is no easy task to segregate, and assign to their proper authors.

James Gregory, the great grand-father of the present Dr. James Gregory, was one of the ablest mathematicians of the last century. His mother was a daughter of Mr. David Anderson of Finzaugh, who possessed a peculiar turn for mathematical and mechanical enquiry. Alexander Anderson, the cousin german of David, was professor of mathematics at the University of Paris in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the author of the *Supplementum Apollonii redivivi*, published in 1612. The mother of Gregory inherited the genius of her family, and, observing a strong propensity to mathematics in her son, instructed him herself in the elements of that science. At the age of twenty-four, he published his *Optica Promota* (London, 1663), in which he communicated a new invention of his own, the construction of the reflecting telescope, which has so much benefited optics and astronomy. Soon after its publication, he went to the university of Padua, where he resided some years, and where he published, in 1667, his *Vera Circuli et Hyperboles Quadraturæ*. In this work he gave the world another new invention of his own, we mean, that of an infinitely converging series for the areas of the circle and hyperbola. To a republication

of this treatise in 1668, he added a tract, entituled, *Geometricæ pars universalis, inserviens quantitatum curvarum transmutationi et mensuræ*, containing the first known method for the transmutation of curves. In 1668, Mr. Gregory published, at London, his *Exercitationes Geometricæ;* and about the same period he was appointed professor of mathematics in the university of St. Andrew's. From thence he was called, in 1674, to fill the mathematical chair at Edinburgh; and in October 1675, while he was employed in shewing the satellites of Jupiter through a telescope to some of his pupils, he was suddenly struck with total blindness, and died in a few days after, at the early age of thirty-seven.

His brother, Mr. David Gregory of Kinnairdy, who spent the greater part of his life as a merchant in Holland, but latterly returned to Scotland, had the satisfaction to see three of his sons, David, James and Charles, all professors of mathematics at the same time in three of the universities of Britain. David, the eldest, was born at Aberdeen, in 1661, but educated at Edinburgh, where he was elected in 1683 professor of mathematics, and published in the same year his *Exercitatio Geometrica de Dimensione Figurarum*, &c. quarto. He was the first who introduced the Newtonian philosophy at Edinburgh. In consequence of the patronage of Newton and Mr. Flamstead, the astronomer royal, he obtained the Savilian professorship of astronomy at Oxford, vacant by the resignation of Dr. Barnard. Dr. Halley was the competitor of Gregory for that chair; but this rivalship produced no animosity between those two eminent scholars: the Doctor soon after became his colleague, by obtaining the professorship of geometry at Oxford. Previous to his nomination, Mr. Gregory had the degree of Doctor of Physic conferred on him by that University. Besides several papers in the Philosophical Transactions, he printed at Oxford his work, entituled *Catæptricæ, et Dieptricæ, Sphericæ, Elementa.* It contains the substance of the lectures he read at Edinburgh.

In 1702, he published at Oxford his *Astronomiæ, Physicæ, et Geometricæ, Elementa*, and in the following year edited the works of Euclid, in Greek and Latin, folio. He died in the forty-ninth year of his age (1710), while engaged in publishing, in conjunction with Dr. Halley, the Conics of Apollonius. Besides some other posthumous works he left in manuscript his *Treatise of Practical Geometry*, which was translated and published by Mr. Maclaurin, in 1745, and has undergone innumerable editions. His eldest son, David, was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History, at Oxford, and died in 1767.

On the removal of Dr. David Gregory to Oxford he was succeeded in his professorship at Edinburgh by his brother James, who was also an eminent mathematician, and whose chair, on his resignation in 1725, was given to the celebrated Maclaurin.

Charles Gregory the third son of Mr. Gregory of Kinnairdy, and brother of Dr. David and James, was created professor of mathematics at St. Andrew's in 1707, and on his resignation in 1739, was succeeded by his son David Gregory, who died in 1763.

Professor James Gregory whom we have already mentioned as the inventor of the Gregorian telescope, had a son, Dr. James Gregory, who held the professorship of medicine in King's College, Aberdeen. James, the eldest son of the last mentioned gentleman, likewise obtained the degree of M. D. and succeeded his father as professor of medicine in the same university.

The second son was the amiable and much lamented Dr. John Gregory, father of the present professor, Dr. James Gregory. These two brothers were indebted for their early instruction to the care and attention of their cousin, the celebrated Doctor Reid of Glasgow; and John, in particular, to the immediate and paternal tuition of his grand-father, the Rev. Mr. George

Chalmers, Principal of King's College, whose only daughter was the second wife of their father. After attending the medical lectures at Edinburgh, Mr. John Gregory, went to Leyden in 1745, where he studied under the celebrated professors Gaubius, Albinus, and Van Royen. While he resided there, the King's College of Aberdeen bestowed on him the degree of Doctor of Medicine, and soon after, on his return from Holland, he was elected Professor of Philosophy in that University. He resigned that office in 1749, with an intent to settle as a physician at Aberdeen; previous, however, to his doing so, he went for a few months to the continent. Resolving afterwards to try his fortune in London, he settled there in 1754; but in the year following, the professorship of physic in King's College becoming vacant by the death of his brother, he was invited to succeed him, and accepted of the office.

In 1764, he published his *Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man with those of the Animal World.* This work was considerably enlarged by the author in a second edition. He was appointed Professor of the Practice of Physic in the University of Edinburgh, on the resignation of Dr. Rutherford, in 1766. In that station he gave lectures for the three ensuing years; and afterwards, by agreement with Dr. Cullen, Professor of the Theory of Physic, these two distinguished scholars gave alternate courses of the theory and practice. Dr. Gregory's introductory discourses were published in 1770, under the title of *Lectures on the Duties and Qualifications of a Physician*, of which an enlarged and more perfect edition appeared in 1772. In this year he likewise published his *Elements of the Practice of Physic, for the Use of Students.* It was meant as a text book to be commented on in the course of his lectures. He died suddenly in February, 1773; he had gone to bed in apparent health, but was found lifeless in the morning. His death was attributed to an instantaneous paroxysm of the gout, which disease he

inherited from his mother, who had expired with equal suddenness, while sitting at table. The inestimable work, *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters*, which has been translated into all the European languages, was published by his eldest son after the author's death.

After this biographical recapitulation of an ancestry distinguished for scientific talents, the reader will be prepared to expect that their successors have not ceased to perpetuate the literary reputation of their family: and his expectations will not be disappointed. Dr. John Gregory left three sons and two daughters. His second son, William, of Baliol College, Oxford, obtained the rectory of St. Mary, Breadman, and was appointed one of the six preachers in the cathedral church of Canterbury. John, the youngest, died in 1783.

The eldest son, James, (the subject of the following biography) was born at Aberdeen, in the month of January, 1753, and received the rudiments of his education at the grammar-school of that place. His assiduity and progress in his early studies are apparent from the classical latinity of a work of his, which we shall hereafter have occasion to mention. He spent the winter of 1764-5 at King's College, Aberdeen, in learning the Greek language. From that seminary he was removed next season to the University of Edinburgh, and in the winter of 1766-7 was entered at Christ Church, Oxford. Here he studied under the immediate care of his cousin, the late Rev. Dr. David Gregory, Dean of Christ Church, in whose house he resided. On the death of this relation, Mr. Gregory was recalled to Edinburgh by his father in the end of 1767.

Immediately on his return he resumed his studies at the University of that metropolis, where he continued until the winter of 1773, when he was sent to London in order to prosecute his medical education. In June, 1774, he obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the College of Edinburgh, after which he went

abroad, where he spent the rest of that year, and the whole of the ensuing. In the course of this tour he visited Holland, France, and Italy; and, during the latter part of it, through the two countries last mentioned, was accompanied by Mr. Macdonald, now Sir Archibald Macdonald, Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer in England.

To a mind, like Dr. Gregory's, stored with the literature of Greece and Rome, and habituated to investigation, a journey on the continent, in search of medical knowledge, could not fail to prove of incalculable utility. It is by observing the diversified modes of nations in the sciences and arts, that the individual attains a liberality of sentiment, and enabled to select what is useful as the basis of future improvement. A physician, whose felicity of circumstances enables him to undertake a continental tour, is less inclined to adopt hypothesis, than the man who is accustomed only to one method of practice. Dr. Gregory is a striking example of the truth of this observation: Wedded to no system, attached to no sect, he courts truth under the guidance of common sense, illumined by science, and is inclined, in his medical capacity, to place greater confidence in the genial efforts of nature (vis. med. nat.) than is generally admitted by practioners.

He returned to Britain in December, 1775. In the February ensuing, he was admitted a *licentiate* of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, and, in the month of June of that year was appointed Professor of the Theory of Physic in the University of that city. Academical honours now began to flow on him. In February, 1777, he was admitted a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and officiated many years as their Secretary. That learned body nominated him to fill the President's chair in December, 1798, and last year re-elected him to the same office. The new but promising institutions of the Royal Medical and Physical Societies of Edinburgh chose him an honorary member.

He had been a fellow of the Royal Society ever since its commencement, and for several years officiated as one of the secretaries of the physical class. Anterior to this, he had acted in the same capacity in the Philosophical Society, which was incorporated with the Royal Society.

While he held the chair of the Theory of Physic, he drew up a syllabus of his lectures for the use of the students. This work was published in Latin, in 1779-80, under the name of *Conspectus Medicinæ Theoreticæ ad usum Academicum*. Since that time two editions of it have appeared in two large volumes, octavo. An idea of the mental powers of a writer may be formed from an inspection of his table of contents. If we find in it a *lucidus ordo*, an intimate connection of parts, we may fairly infer that the author possesses a logical head, which is the most important requisite in scientific disquisitions. The work of Dr. Gregory is in the highest repute: its style is classical, its doctrines invaluable, and its arrangements judicious.

When the venerable Cullen retired, Dr. Gregory was selected to fill his station as Professor of the Practice of Physic. It is not possible to mention the name of Cullen, without experiencing a sentement of regret. The consummate knowledge of that illustrious professor, and his pre-eminent merit, raised his University to the first station among medical seminaries, at least we may boast of its being *nulli secunda*. His memory is dear to men of science in every country, and will be for ever revered by all Scotchmen who feel for the honour of their native land. It was certainly a flattering testimony of the talents of Dr. Gregory, that he should be nominated as the successor of a person who enjoyed such colossal fame. A man of a timid disposition would have shrunk from a situation where he was in momentary danger of being compared with his great predecessor. But the Doctor, not intimidated by the magnitude of the task, felt a manly confidence in his own abilities;

and although he has not attained the lustre that irradiated the name of Cullen, he has occupied the academic chair with respectability and increasing reputation. In December, 1799, he was appointed first physician to His Majesty in Scotland, an office become vacant by the death of Dr. Black.

A philological paper by Dr. Gregory, on the theory of the moods of verbs, has been published in the second part (p. 193—250,) among the papers of the literary class (of vol. ii.) of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. In this essay, the author advances his observations with modesty: and although he characterizes them as imperfect and desultory, no one will hesitate to stile them ingenious and useful. In the course of some philological and philosophical speculations, he had remarked a want of sufficiently precise and distinct notions of the general import of the moods of verbs, a hasty and careless admission of certain general principles not duly ascertained, and a vague use of certain general and comprehensive terms not sufficiently explained or understood. In discussing the mode least adapted to avoid these errors, and supply defects, it was necessary to adopt a plan similar to that so long successfully employed in physical investigations; namely, by beginning with a collection of observations relative to the moods of verbs, from these deducing certain general principles, and verifying them by further observation, and even experiment. The learned and worthy author of the Treatise on the Origin and Progress of Language, although an able philologist, was occasionally led astray by his eccentricity. In his second volume he investigates, but not satisfactorily, the number, the nature, and the import of the moods of verbs. It was Dr. Gregory's object to supply what was wanting in his Lordship's treatise, and extend the investigation farther than he had done.

It does not accord with the nature of this work to enter into a detail of the Doctor's remarks: we will,

however, be pardoned for mentioning one of his observations, as it is both ingenious and novel. It is well known, that some of the moods are resolvable into circumlocutionary expressions by means of other auxiliary verbs, and that, in fact, all are, in some measure, convertible, though, strictly speaking, not resolvable, in this manner. Thus the use of moods in shortening expressions is obvious, while it renders language peculiarly impressive, and facilitates mental comprehension. This remark the Doctor happily illustrates by assimilating the use of the moods of verbs to that of diagrams in mathematics, and characters in algebra, all which suggest instantaneously, as it were, the whole congeries of thought.

In 1792, his philosophical and literary essays, in two volumes, octavo, were published. He informs us in the introduction, that this work is only part of a much more extensive and important undertaking, *An Essay towards an Investigation of the exact Import and Extent of the common Notion of the Relation of Cause and Effect in Physics, and of the real Nature of that Relation.* These two volumes contain only one essay, *On the Difference between the Relation of Motive and Action, and that of Cause and Effect in Physics, on physical and mathematical Principles.* When this work appeared, it incited a considerable bustle in the literary world. The bold assertions of the author, his peculiar mode of reasoning, his occasional display of an inclination to dogmatize, and still more his intrepid defiance to the numerous abettors of the doctrine of philosophical necessity, drew from his opponents answers equally resolute. To contradict, however, is not to confute; and the main question, although it has occasioned many a lengthened warfare, still remains undecided. Dr. Gregory will, it is hoped, avail himself of the productions of his adversaries in correcting where correction is necessary, and in strengthening his arguments against their attacks. It is by the collision of sentiment that truth is elicited; and we with pleasure infer, from the

determined tone of our author, that he will favour the world with a continuation of his important researches, and not be discouraged by the difficulties or the mental tedium ever attending metaphysical disquisition.

It would seduce us into a protracted discussion beyond the limits we can assign to this biography, were we to enter on the great question of liberty and necessity in human actions, a question which has exercised the acuteness and talents of a Berkley, a Leibnitz, a Locke, a Hume, a Priestley, a Reid, and many other eminent philosophers. In natural philosophy it is a received axiom, that no effect can exist without a cause; and this law has been extended by several metaphysicians to the relation between motive and action. That there exists a relation between these last, and that it resembles the relation between cause and effect in physics, will scarcely be denied. Yet mankind, by attaching an idea less forcible to the term *motive* than to *cause*, seem to express an opinion that the connection between physical cause and effect is inseparable, or, in the language of metaphysicians, that there is a constant conjunction, while that subsisting between motive and action is only occasional and separable, and, in a great measure, dependent on the individual.

The practice of applying mathematical demonstration to metaphysics is certainly not new; but the peculiar manner in which it is done by Dr. Gregory has the merit of originality. Those who maintain the doctrine of necessity, cannot object to mathematical reasoning, for their tenets not merely assimilate the operations of thought, the volitions and actions of men to the phenomena of the material world, but connect them as intimately as physical cause and effect. If Dr. Gregory has not completely refuted his antagonists, he has at least debilitated their arguments, and introduced a more conclusive mode of ratiocination. The inference he finally draws from the arguments he advances is, that the influence of motives is not irresistible, and that there

is, in living persons, a certain independent and self-governing power.

At the close of the Introduction, which occupies the greater part of the first volume, the author narrates a correspondence with Mr. Cooper and Dr. Priestley. Before publishing his essay, Dr. Gregory submitted it, in the course of the eight preceding years, to the consideration of more than thirty different gentlemen, many of them enjoying distinguished eminence as men of science, whose sentiments he wished to learn. We ought to mention, that his novel mode of investigating the subject is, by *indirect* demonstration, or reasoning, by necessary consequences and mathematical induction, *ad falsum* and *ad absurdum*. To Drs. Price and Priestley he took the liberty of transmitting printed copies for their perusal and remarks; at the same time declaring his intention to suppress the work, if they should advance valid objections to the deductions he had made: this was in Midsummer, 1789. About four months afterwards he received a letter from Dr. Price, containing several observations on it, and expressing his approbation of, and acquiescence in, the justness of its demonstration. Dr. Priestley regretted that the essay had not come into his hands during his discussion of the doctrine of necessity, and pleaded the multiplicity of his literary occupations, and his doubts of having leisure in the course of that year, or previous to the time of the intended publication of the essay, to give sufficient attention to a subject on which he had long ceased to read or to think; but added, that if his leisure permitted, he would communicate any remarks that might occur to him on perusing it, and that might appear to be of importance.

As no further notice of the matter was taken by Dr. Priestley, this neglect seems to have produced an irritation of mind in Dr. Gregory, who, in a letter to the former (24th June, 1791) expressed his dissatisfaction in language perhaps too warm, and challenged that cele-

brated necessarian either to refute or admit his inferences, to try them experimentally, and to abide by the result. "It is fair, and it is necessary on my part," observes our author, "to warn you, that by the publi-
"cation of my essay you will find yourself loudly called
"on to vindicate your character, not merely in point of
"understanding as a philosopher, but in point of pro-
"bity and veracity as a man. My essay, as you will
"perceive by the tenor of it, is given, not merely as a
"demonstration that the doctrine of necessity is errone-
"ous and absurd, but as a proof (as complete and de-
"cisive as ever was or ever can be given of *mala fides*
"in any case), that few, if any, of those who asserted
"it, had really believed it, and consequently that most
"or all of the assertors of it had been guilty of a most
"shameful imposition on mankind."

Dr. Priestley's answer (30th June, 1791) was cautiously temperate, and concluded in these words. "As
"to your calling upon me to vindicate my probity and
"veracity, and to defend myself from the charge of
"*mala fides*, and of being guilty of a most shameful
"imposition on mankind, to which you say I cannot
"be indifferent, I do assure you, that I have been so
"much used to charges of this nature, that I am per-
"fectly so. I am myself satisfied with what I have
"written on this subject, and I have long been in the
"habit of making myself easy as to every thing else.
"P. S. Mr. Cooper has your book, and as we are at
"a great distance from each other, I have had no op-
"portunity of looking into it."

Here the correspondence terminated. We cannot forbear mentioning a ridiculous inconsistency in Priestley. When he was thus invited to read a work on a subject he had publicly discussed, and give his opinion, however concise, he declined opening it, and pleaded an important pursuit in hand. Yet he felt no hesitation in insisting on Gibbon to peruse his Church History, and

whole polemical tracts, and challenging the historian to a religious controversy. Gibbon very wisely rejected the defiance, not however without reminding the clerical champion of the dogmatical spirit of priests and their insensibility to argument. All the Doctor's letters and reiterated importunities were unavailing: Gibbon would not be teased into compliance; on which account the former revenged himself, or rather gratified his vanity, by publishing the correspondence.

After detailing the literary life of a *living* individual, we have fulfilled our primary object in the biography of a scholar, and delicacy requires that we should not intrude on his private life. We will therefore content ourselves with mentioning that Dr. Gregory is a man of a convivial disposition and great companionable qualities; his stature is tall, and his person athletic. We have heard him extolled for his benevolence and ardent patronage of merit. In his medical character, he is the avowed enemy of all hypothetical systems, and never losesan opportunity of expressing a thorough contempt for all the frivolous disputes of physicians, and their too frequent affectation of mystery in scientific matters.

During that blaze of loyalty which, in 1794, illumed the ancient kingdom of Scotland, the citizens of Edinburgh, roused from a kind of phlegmatic lethargy, and proud of valiant ancestry, eagerly enrolled themselves into military corps for the preservation of our invaluable Constitution. The first regiment of Royal Edinburgh Volunteers, which is composed of the better sort of the inhabitants, and on that account regarded as the *acme* of loyalty, was embodied in July, that year. Dr. Gregory was one of the first on the list, and carried a musket as a private grenadier. This institution, although it has engrossed a considerable portion of the time of these civic soldiery, has materially contributed to their health, with the exception of accidents arising from an intemperate indulgence in occasional festivity. Their valour is undoubted, at least it has, on no trying occasion, been

defective; and, although they cannot boast of having earned brilliant laurels in the field, and may lament the acquisition of a confirmed rheumatism or an ague, they have completely routed the gout and all arthritic affections. It has also given them a more manly aspect and gait:

> Os homini sublime dedit: coelumque tueri
> Jussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.

When in February, 1797, it was thought necessary to form several additional battalions, Dr. Gregory received a captaincy in the second battalion of the second regiment of Royal Edinburgh Volunteers, in which capacity he still serves.

In 1781, Dr. Gregory married Miss Ross, daughter of James Ross, Esq. of Stranrear. By this lady, who died in 1784, he had no children. Twelve years afterwards, (in 1796) he married Miss M'Leod, daughter of Donald M'Leod, of Geanies: by her he has a family. Thus in the tranquil bosom of domestic felicity, and the enjoyment of lettered ease, he maintains an elegant establishment in life, respected by those in a more elevated station, beloved by his friends, and universally esteemed for his virtues.

(1800.)

DR. WILLIAM MAVOR.*

THE public is naturally inquisitive respecting those who have amused or instructed it; and though the man may be solitary and neglected, the author of merit is read, admired, and esteemed. Few have written more, or, generally, with more ability, than the subject of these slight memoirs; and if his multifarious productions do not all bear the stamp of superior excellence and the highest degrees of genius, they uniformly bespeak a feeling heart, and an ardent desire to promote the cause of religion, morals, social order, and science.

William Mavor was born on the first day of August, 1758, in the parish of New Deer, Aberdeen. His family, by the father side, had been seated for some generations at Turreff, and by intermarriages are connected with the Gordons, the Fordyces, and the Wemysses. They were generally nonjurors or jacobites, distinctions happily now no more, and had all the prejudices and partialities of the party to which they adhered; but such was the respect paid to their virtuous conduct in private life, that though William Mavor of Turreff, the great uncle of the gentleman now under consideration, was the unfortunate cause of the surprize of the King's troops at Inverury, in the rebellion of 1745, by his intercepting dispatches, and forwarding them to Lord Lewis Gordon at Aberdeen, the most respectable gentlemen in the vicinity, who were warmly attached to the family on the throne, came forward to screen him from punishment; and after lying some time in the Tower of London, together with his eldest son, they were both set at liberty. The latter remained in London, where he mar-

* Pronounced in the North like the Welsh *Mawr*, and originally spelt the same.

ried and settled, and one of his daughters was keeper of the wardrobe to the late Princess Amelia.

By the mother side, Dr. Mavor is allied to the Lewis and Robertsons' families, originally of much respectability in Buchan; but by a fatality which is common in this transitory world, his relations on both sides had been dwindling in fortune, though not in character. The parents of our author, eminent only for virtuous conduct and sensibility, of which latter quality they entailed too large a portion on their son, finding his propensity to learning, gave him a good education, partly at the school of New Deer, where he had among other associates who have distinguished themselves in life, William Taylor, Esq. at present M. P. for Leominster, and partly at Turreff, a town of which he has always spoken with a fond enthusiasm. At this last mentioned place, his opening faculties were enlarged, and his native talents called into action, by an acquaintance with some young men of much worth and erudition, particularly Francis Duncan, lately an eminent physician in the East Indies, and Francis Garden of Delgaty, nephew to the late philanthropic Lord Gardenstone.

At a very early period of life, as it appears from his poems, printed in 1793, Dr. Mavor shewed a partiality for the muses, and science and learning in general often occupied those hours which the less assiduous devote either to play or to sleep. After obtaining a competent classical education, though we are uncertain what time he spent at the University, a desire of pushing his fortune, or at least of providing for himself, induced him to bid adieu to his native country, which he has been heard to say he left on the day that the battle of Bunker's Hill was fought. In his pathetic poem, entitled the *Complaint of a Heart*, printed in the Ladies Musem, Number XIX. we find the following stanzas, which we believe to be as just as they are poetic:

The duteous son—No sad parental tear
Drawn from the orbits of affection, fell;
The only pang my parents had to bear,
Was when we parted, at the word—farewell!

When young in life, and forc'd to guess my road,
Without one friend to save my bark from harm,
The world receiv'd me in its vast abode,
And honest toil procur'd its plaudits warm.

After a short stay in London, Dr. Mavor engaged himself as classical assistant to a respectable boarding school at Burford in Oxfordshire, being then barely seventeen years of age; but in point of height and manly appearance much beyond his years. In this laborious and sedentary profession, which in some measure laid the foundation of those nervous complaints which have so much harrassed and afflicted him in subsequent periods of his life, he remained for nearly seven years, prosecuting his studies with unwearied application, and occasionally visiting the University of Oxford, where he contracted some valuable friendships. Among the rest, it was his good fortune to be noticed by the late John Smith, M. D. Savilian professor of geometry, who introduced him to the amiable and learned Dr. Bathurst, Canon of Christ Church; a man of whose friendship any person has reason to be proud, because it can only be gained by virtue and talents.

Having resolved to enter into holy orders, after passing through the previous examinations with applause, he was publicly ordained, as soon as he was of canonical age, in autumn 1781, in the cathedral of Christ Church, by the right reverend Dr. Butler, now Lord Bishop of Hereford. Among those who took orders at the same time was the present Sir Herbert Croft, Baronet. Soon after this, he opened an academy at Woodstock, in which he met with tolerable success; but it is often found that a liberal and ingenuous mind can ill stoop to avail itself of advantages which are sometimes made in such a situation by more mercenary dispositi-

ons ; and notwithstanding his diligence and frugal manners, his fortune was little bettered by his school. It enabled him to maintain an honest independent character, and that was all. In 1782 he married, and has had six children, five sons and a daughter. His daughter and one of his sons died in infancy, yet he has pathetically lamented their loss ; and his eldest son, a most promising youth, on the foundation of the Charter-House School, was carried off by a consumption last autumn. The shock this gave was too much for his tender heart, and for many months he has been incapable of attending to study, or of enjoying any amusement. Disappointed hopes, domestic distress, sedentary pursuits, and excessive sensibility, have too visibly sapped the foundations of life ; and though it would be presumption to anticipate the decrees of the Almighty, it can scarcely be expected that he will* ever be the man he has been, unless his circumstances should require less application on his own part, or his situation was rendered more congenial to a cultivated and feeling mind.

But to return. His first curacy was Sarsden and Churchill. Afterwards he served Great Barrington, where the late Countess of Talbot had a seat, and Teynton. These cures being too distant from his residence, though he punctually attended them on Sundays, he engaged to serve Westcotte Barton, in which he has continued for upwards of fourteen years, at one time holding Stones Field with it, at another Kiddington, and for the last seven years Shipton on Cherwell. The late Thomas Wharton, B. D. and Poet Laureate, was rector of Kiddington during the three or four years in which he served that church ; and his connection with that amiable and distinguished scholar he has always mentioned as the most pleasant and satisfactory of his

* This assertion is in itself a symptom of nervous affection. Dr. Mavor will probably recover the full vigour both of his mind and happiness, and is every day regaining the one or both.—*Editor.*

life. Mr. Wharton paid him the respect due to a man of learning; and on some occasions had the goodness to give him his advice and opinion respecting his literary undertakings.

Dr. Mavor's situation at Woodstock naturally threw him under the notice of the Marlborough family. He had the honour, after some time, to be employed by the Duke and Duchess to assist in the education of the ladies Anne and Amelia, lord Henry and Francis Spencer; which engagements lasted for several years, though they did not, in any material degree, interfere with his private or public pursuits and studies. At Blenheim he was introduced to most of the friends of the family: and from several of the highest rank and distinction, he met with the most flattering attentions, which might be pleasant to him as a gentleman, and of some service to him as an author, though we do not find that they have essentially promoted his advancement.

In the year 1789, the University of Marischall College, Aberdeen, conferred on him, in the most handsome manner, the degree of LL. D. by diploma, to which he was presented by the illustrious Dr. Beattie. Whatever may be said of Scotch degrees in general, this was certainly honourable to both parties; as it was wholly gratuitous on the part of the University, and paid solely as a compliment to useful talents and distinguished merit. In the same year the Duke of Marlborough presented Dr. Mavor to the vicarage of Hurley in Berkshire, worth about 100l. per annum. He was likewise appointed master of the grammar school of Woodstock, and successively elected an honorary freeman of that borough, and a member of the Common Council. About seven years ago he was appointed one of the chaplains of the Earl of Dumfries; and held the vicarage of Tyroc in Warwickshire, in the presentation of the Earl of Northampton, for about five years, when he resigned it to a friend.

This is all the preferment that has hitherto fallen to his lot. He has often remarked, "that the man who "felt himself qualified to be a *friend*, would not stoop "to the meanness of becoming a *favourite*. Though "highly grateful for voluntary favours, his mind could "ill brook the earnestness of solicitation. Perhaps he "might feel that he deserved something better; but by "the industrious application of the talents he has ever, "when health permitted, endeavoured to compensate "for the neglect of those who had it in their power to "raise him to that independence which his public and "private exertions in favour of government and social "order seemed to merit."

His publications have been very numerous, considering that he is now only in the forty-second year of his age. We believe the following is a pretty correct list. Most of them are still in daily use, and probably will long continue so, and all have been received with a considerable share of public applause. On the peculiar merits of living authors, it becomes us not to speak without reserve, lest flattery or prejudice should appear to guide the pen. Yet it may safely be affirmed, that the tendency of Dr. Mavor's works have all been strictly virtuous, and this alone is genuine fame, or can give real pleasure on a retrospect.

1. Universal Stenography, octavo, 1779.

2. Poetical Cheltenham Guide, 12mo. 1781.

3. Geographical Magazine, published under the adopted name of Martyn, 4to. 1781.

4. Dictionary of Natural History, do folio, 1784.

5. New Description of Blenheim, with Blenheim, a Poem, 8vo. 1789.

6. Vindiciæ Landavenses; or, Strictures on the Bishop of Landaff's Charge, 4to. 1792.

7. Poems, 8vo. 1793, not yet published, printed for Robinsons.

8. Fast Day Sermon, 1793, 8vo.

9. Appendix to the Eton Grammar, 12mo. 1796.

10. Thanksgiving Sermon, 1797, 8vo.

11. Historical Account of Voyages, Travels, and Discoveries, in twenty volumes, 18mo. 1797.

12. British Tourists, in five volumes, 12mo. 1798.

13. Youth's Miscellany; or, a Father's Gift to his Children, two volumes, 12mo. 1798.

14. British Nepos, 12mo. 1798.

15. Natural History, for the Use of Schools, 12mo. 1799.

16. Young Gentleman and Lady's Magazine, edited and chiefly written by Dr. Mavor, two volumes, 12mo. 1799.

17. Lady's and Gentleman's Botanical Pocket Book, 12mo. 1800.

18. Plutarch's Lives, Abridged, 12mo. 1800.

Many papers and poems in the Gentleman's Magazine, Reviews, and other periodical publications, under various signatures, such as Morva, an anagram of Mavor, Numa's Letters in the St. James' Chronicle, &c. &c. were likewise written by Dr. Mavor. We have seen a letter of thanks to him from Mr. Secretary Dundas for some suggestions respecting emigrants, and the dissemination of democratic principles; and it is a well known fact, that in approbation of Dr. Mavor's principles, Her Majesty lately ordered two complete sets of his works. His correspondence with literary and illustrious characters has, if we are not misinformed, been pretty extensive. It appears from his letters and papers that the idea of forming associations against levellers and republicans struck him before he knew of Mr. Reeves' plan, which he zealously supported, and he has corresponded with that gentleman on the occasion.

Such are the brief memoirs of this diligent scholar, and very ingenious writer. The biographer is called upon to do justice to the amiable manners, philanthropy of heart, and engaging address of this gentleman. In a more enlarged sphere of action, and under a happier fortune, he might have shone with lustre; but Providence, alike just in what it gives and what it denies, regards solely the heart, and reserves an imparti al distribution of its favours to another and a happier state.

(1800)

LORD GRENVILLE.

WILLIAM WYNDHAM GRENVILLE was the of second son of the celebrated George Grenville, brother of Earl Temple, and Prime Minister in an early part of this reign. His father, as every historical reader must know, was very eminent as a political leader, and particularly distinguished for his financial projects; though one of them, the Stamp Act, led eventually to very destructive consequences, yet his character, as a financier, possessed very considerable merit. After Mr. Pitt left the House of Commons, and before Mr. Fox became a Member, Mr. Grenville was esteemed equal to any man in the House. Dying in 1770, he left a large family, the eldest of whom, George, became afterwards Earl Temple, on the death of his uncle, and was since created Marquis of Buckingham. Temple is, indeed, the family name. The late Mr. George Grenville had taken that of his mother, on account of an estate which descended to him through her. The Marquis of Buckingham inherited both the estates of Temple and Grenville, greatly increased his fortune by marrying the daughter and only child of the late Lord Nugent. Earl Temple, his Lordship's son and heir, married the heiress of Chandos, so that four capital fortunes are now concentrated in the House of Buckingham. William Wyndham, the second son of Mr. Grenville, was born October 25th, 1759, a few months after his cousin German, the present illustrious Minister. Mr. Grenville very early gave indications of a clear and vigorous understanding, and applied himself sedulously to the acquisition of literary and political knowledge. Being scarcely of age at the general election 1780, he did not enter Parliament till some years after, when he joined the party headed by his friend Mr. Pitt, in opposing Mr. Fox's East-India Bill. He greatly distinguished himself by

his speeches in favour of the East-India Bill, Commutation Act, and other measures proposed by Mr. Pitt in the first year of his administration. He farther advanced his political fame the following session, on the subject of the Irish propositions, and was looked on by both parties as a gentleman destined, through his abilities and application, to rise to the first offices of the State. Mr. Grenville, on the subject of a commercial treaty with France, very greatly distinguished himself for knowledge of the general principles of trade, and the respective interests of both powers. On the question concerning the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, he voted against the first charges being brought forward; but on having examined the circumstances, he at length voted for his impeachment.

Having devoted a great portion of attention to the usages and forms of the House, he was appointed Speaker, and very much admired for his conduct in that office. Through life he has applied himself with wonderful assiduity to foreign politics, and in 1791 was deemed the fittest man to succeed the Duke of Leeds as Secretary of State for the foreign department. At this time French affairs became extremely critical, the revolutionary doctrines were spreading very fast; an intercourse with that country becoming daily more dangerous, it required great delicacy of address, and very skilful policy, to discourage the propagators of destructive principles, without a hostile interference with a nation from which they issued. When the King of France announced to the neighbouring powers his acceptance of the new constitution, the answer delivered by the British Ministry was extremely cautious and wise. Without expressing any opinion on the goodness or badness of a system which, not having then interfered with this country, it did not then belong to our government to discuss. About this time he was created a Peer by the title of Lord Grenville, and appointed Speaker of the House of Peers. Besides accuracy and extent of political knowledge, his Lordship, now that his talents were

matured by experience, shewed himself deeply conversant with the general principles of politics, in discussing the propriety of our interference between Russia and Turkey; he in a few words, explained the object which induced Britain, both then and at other times, to adopt the parts it has chosen in the continental politics of Europe. "An idle and vulgar prejudice," he observed, "was disseminated through the nation, that this country had no occasion for foreign connection, that it was our best system to stand alone. This was an unfounded doctrine, a delusive and dangerous policy. But though it was certainly untrue that we could safely and prudently stand alone, it was true that we had no ambitious objects to pursue; we had nothing to gain; we wished only to remain as we were, and our alliances could only have the tendency of maintaining the balance of power. Our principles were pacific; it was known to Europe that they were so; and it was a matter of pride, that, standing on the high eminence which we did, we exerted our power only for the maintenance of peace."

"Such was the true object of our late interference. Our ally, Prussia, had substantial reasons for alarm at the encroachment of Russia on the Porte. They threatened the overthrow of that balance which was necessary to the general tranquility. It was evident that the object of Russia was to become maritime; and he desired to know if that was an object favourable, or even safe, to England? It was an acknowledged fact, that if ever she did become maritime, it was to the friendship of England that she owed her naval powers. Oczakow was said to be of no value in the hands of Russia. He denied the fact: in the hands of Russia it was important; because it could only be for offence. To the Porte it could only be of consequence for defence: it was precisely on this distinction that the alarm had been taken. Such was the opinion of their ally; such had been adopted as the opinion of the Cabinet; and upon opinion they acted. In the same speech he exhibited a general view of the weight due to public opinion in a

free country, illustrated by the conduct of Ministers in the dispute with Russia. When they found, that not only in the two Houses of Parliament there were a considerable number of persons who did not agree with his Majesty's Ministers in this view of the object, and still more so when they found that this sentiment was taken up by a great number, if not a majority of the people, it became a new question, whether with a divided people they should persist in a prosecution of the object. They, with a proper deference to public opinion, determined that it was not proper to risk the hazard of a war under such circumstances. Such was his opinion; such ought ever to be the influence on a popular Government of public opinion, and he should ever yield to its sway. In the various transactions of Europe, British policy had of late been exerted in restoring things to the *statu quo*; the balance which it was thought necessary to poise. A treaty had been formed through the mediation of the allied powers, between the Emperor and the Porte, on the basis of the strict *status quo*. Peace had been re-established between Russia and Sweden, but on the same basis. The Netherlands had been restored to the House of Austria, and the ancient constitution secured to the people on the mediation of the allied powers; and peace had been also established between Russia and the Porte, on the basis of the *status quo*, qualified only by the retention of Oczakow. All this had been done in the true spirit of the pacific principles by which we were governed. It was a glorious distinction for England, that, placed on a pinnacle of prosperity, unprecedented not only in our own annals, but in the history of all other nations, she exerted her power, not for aggrandisement and ambition—not to profit from the distractions of other countries—not to cherishing any mean sentiment of revenge for wounds inflicted in the moments of our weakness, to seize in our turn our moment of advantage, and perpetuate the disorders that ravaged a neighbouring and rival people. That with the means of unprecedented influence she exerted it for the peace of Europe, and desired only to be felt and known as the friend, and not as the disturber of other nations."

During the same session the discussion of the principles that related to the French Revolution came before Parliament. In the House of Lords, Lord Grenville's speech was in the same strain of official caution, which had been observed in every thing that could relate to France. He confined himself to the general folly of such doctrines, and their inadmissibility in this country, without saying a word of the propriety or impropriety of their adoption by another people. He expressed himself with great justice and force on the writings by which the proclamation was caused in 1792. "Seditious publications had been industriously circulated among all ranks of people, and from the style in which they are written, were not so much an appeal to their judgment, as to their passions, and had a tendency to irritate and inflame their minds. If it was asked, whether the proclamation issued upon that contemptible, trivial, and libellous work of Paine's, he would answer, he said, No: for he thought it the most deficient and foolish publication that could be printed; but there were many others in circulation, and those were followed up by societies and meetings avowedly inculcating their principles, which were nothing short of a total subversion of every known and wise system of government; they had not even stopped here, but had disseminated their seditious purposes by attempts to excite, by handbills, mutiny and disorder amongst the army and navy. When they had come to this pitch, would any man say, that Ministers ought to remain inactive, or that it was unnecessary for the Executive Government to interfere? Certainly not; the danger might easily be averted in the beginning, but would prove great and serious if neglected. There was one point more to be noticed concerning those proceedings, and that was their correspondence with foreign countries. In his opinion no profit could be derived to this country from any interference in the affairs of France."

In the course of the parliamentary recess, various events took place which called forward the political abi-

lities of the noble Secretary for foreign affairs. The French Monarchy was annihilated, though the Monarch was still suffered to live. Though Britain continued to observe a formal neutrality in the war between France and Germany, the French revolutionists shewed themselves inimical to the existing constitution of this country. We had not openly interfered with their internal affairs, but they interfered with ours: they had publicly encouraged private societies and individuals in their principles, declarations, and professed intentions, altogether unfriendly to the established government. This, no doubt, was impolitic. When they had dethroned their King, the gentleman who had been his Ambassador could no longer be received as the Minister of a personage deprived of the power of either acting for himself, or appointing others to act for him. His late Ambassador must, therefore, cease to be considered as an accredited Minister. A correspondence took place between M. Chauvelin and Lord Grenville, in which the letters of our Secretary displayed a severity of retort rarely equalled in diplomatic discussions.

We now approach the period when Great Britain relinquished its neutral character, and became a party in the war that had traversed the Austrian Netherlands, and threatened the dominions of the United Provinces. The zeal with which the French Convention propagated revolutionary principles had raised the alarm of the British Ministry, who believed that the enemy had formed a connection with certain political societies established in London; and the manner in which deputies from them had been received at the bar, had already excited the vigilance of the British government, and compelled it to employ such measures as the important and extraordinary circumstances of the country appeared to demand.

It was alleged that France avowed an intention of provoking Great Britain to war, and that in this view, among others, it was determined by the executive pow-

er of France, to set aside the law of nations, and trample on treaties, by declaring not only its design, but its right, to open the navigation of the Scheldt.

The French were extending their dominions much farther than was consistent with the security of Europe, and had published a decree hostile to the welfare of existing governments. M. Chauvelin himself endeavoured to justify the conduct of the Executive Council of France respecting Great Britain and her allies. The correspondence which passed on this occasion is of the highest historical importance, as it very clearly ascertains who are the aggressors in the present war. The documents therein contained may be referred to, as a satisfactory and convincing answer to all the arguments adduced by the most powerful and most brilliant genius, in the letters of one of the firſt political orators, and one of the first judical orators, that have ever graced the history of mankind. It is of biographical importance in the present article, as it strikingly illustrates two prominent features in Lord Grenville's character: that laborious assiduity and patient investigation which master details; that acute abstracting mind which generalizes particulars, educes principles, and comprehends results.

Having examined all the circumstances, and viewed the whole conduct of the republic of France, he discerned that hostile attempts, dividing themselves into three branches, proceeded from one source, the desire of revolutionizing and dissecting Europe. "France," he said, "could have no right to annul the stipulations relative to the Scheldt, unless she have also the right to set aside equally all the other treaties between all the powers of Europe, and all the other rights of England or of her allies. She can even have no pretence to interfere in the question of the Scheldt, unless she were the sovereign of the Low Countries, or had the right to dictate laws to all Europe. England will never consent that France

shall arrogate the power of annulling at her pleasure, and under the pretence of a pretended natural right, of which she makes herself the only judge, the political system of Europe, established by solemn treaties, and guaranteed by the consent of all the powers." The question indeed respecting the Scheldt, Lord Grenville and others simplified into the following proposition: Whether a party making a change in his internal arrangements, thereby acquires a just claim to annihilate the rights of another party, independent on him and his arrangements. History, if she speak impartial truth, must thus state the question, and judge the conduct of England and of Lord Grenville. With equal strength he wrote concerning French views of general aggrandisement. "This Government," he said, "adhering to the maxims which it has followed for more than a century, will also never see with indifference that France shall make herself, either directly or indirectly, sovereign of the Low Countries or general arbitress of the rights and liberties of Europe." Concerning the decree of November 19th, he formed and delivered his sentiments, not according to what this gentleman said, but according to what the French revolutionists had done. In the decree of the National Convention of the 19th of November, 1792, England saw the former declarations of a design to extend universally the new principles of government adopted in France, and to encourage disorder and revolt in all countries, even in those which are neutral. "If this interpretation," he said, "which you represent as injurious to the Convention, could admit of any doubt, it is but too well justified by the conduct of the Convention itself. And the application of these principles to the King's dominions has been shewn unequivocally by the public reception given to the promoters of sedition in this country, and by the speeches made to them precisely at the time of this decree, and since on several different occasions."

In the course of this discussion M. Chauvelin (in the language of Lord Grenville) having on the part of

France offered no satisfaction for her aggressions, and war having been resolved upon in the British Cabinet, his Lordship displayed his abilities in promoting and supporting measures for the internal and external security. There was at this time a very considerable number of foreigners and aliens in Great Britain. As many of these had manifested evil intentions towards this nation, it was thought a necessary measure by his Majesty's Ministers to apply to Parliament to provide for the public tranquility, by subjecting the resort and residence of aliens to certain regulations. Accordingly Lord Grenville, on the 19th of December, brought in a bill into the House of Lords for that purpose.

The object of this bill was to regulate the admission or residence of foreigners, so as to enable the King to prevent from arriving, or dismiss, if arrived, all those whose continuance in the country should be deemed dangerous to our constitution and security. His Lordship having, upon the same principles and views from which he promoted the alien bill, supported the law for prohibiting traiterous correspondence between British subjects and the enemy, and for detecting suspected persons, and other momentous measures, in the sessions 1793 and 1794, for securing this country against internal and foreign enemies; and, while thus occupied in his legislative capacity, he had, in his executive situation, a greater portion of official business than probably ever employed a British Secretary for the foreign department; the relations of this country to a confederacy not only extensively complicated, but involving in it such a variety of objects and concerns formerly unknown in the history of alliances.

The proceedings of disaffected individuals having, by the mildness of the English laws, eluded the definitions of legal criminality, Lord Grenville therefore proposed to extend the laws, so as to include the legal definition to equal degrees of moral culpability, and of political

mischief. This was the amount of the famous act which he proposed in November 1795.

To particularize every instance in which the senatorial and executive talents of this statesman had been displayed, would be to exhibit a short history of parliamentary debates and most subjects of domestic and foreign policy. His Lordship has on every occasion, during the last eight years, stepped forward with particular zeal, and in the upper House has usually been considered as the echo and agent of the Minister.

He is unquestionably a very able representative of Mr. Pitt, but his eloquence has been considered as more declamatory than argumentative, and more passionate and noisy than conciliatory and persuasive.

(1800.)

DUKE OF BRIDGWATER.

FRANCIS EGERTON, Duke of Bridgwater, was the fifth son of Scroop, first Duke of that name, by Lady Rachel Russel; was born in 1736, and, by the death of his brothers, succeeded to the title and estate in 1748. His Grace has rendered himself conspicuous by being the patron, and, it may be said, the father of a most important public undertaking, which must in the end be attended with the greatest national benefit. He was the first man who countenanced the plan, and supported the expence of cutting a navigable canal in this kingdom.

This great plan he had digested in his mind before he was of age, and as soon as he came in possession of his fortune, proceeded to put it in execution.

Among other estates, of which the Duke came into possession, he had one at Worsley in the county of Lancaster, rich in coal-mines; but, which, on account of the expence of land carriage, although the rich and flourishing town of Manchester was so near, was of little value. Desirous of working these mines to advantage, he formed the plan of a navigable canal from his own estate at Worsley to Manchester.

For this purpose he consulted the ingenious Mr. Brindley, who had already given some specimens of his wonderful abilities, on the probability of executing such a work. That artist, having surveyed the ground, at once pronounced it to be practicable.

Accordingly, in the session of Parliament 1758-9, the Duke applied for a bill to make a navigable canal from Salford, near Manchester, to Worsley on his own estate. His Grace met with great opposition in its passage through the two Houses, and it would now appear inconceivable that such strong prejudices should have been entertained against a plan of public utility, so apparently advantageous. The Duke, however succeeded, and immediately set about his work, which appeared to promise so well, that the next year he applied for another act to enable him to extend the line, and to pass from Worsley over the river Irwell, near Barton-bridge, to the town of Manchester.

The Duke of Bridgwater has not only the merit of having had spirit to commence works of such immense magnitude, but also for having called into action the wonderful abilities of the late Mr. James Brindley, who, with little aid from education, and less knowledge of the mathematics, planned and executed works which would have done honour to the first and best informed artists.

This canal begins on Worsley mill, about seven computed miles from Manchester, where the Duke cut a bason capable of holding all his boats and a great body of water which serves as a reservoir or head for his navigation. The canal enters a hill by a subterraneous passage, big enough for the admission of flat bottom boats, which are towed along by hand rails, near a mile under ground, to his coal works; then the passage divides into two, both of which may be continued at pleasure. This passage is in some places cut through the solid rock, and in others arched with brick. Air funnels are cut in several places to the top of the hill. The arch at the entrance is about six feet wide, and widens in some places for the boats to pass each other: the boats are loaded from waggons which run on railed ways. Five or six of these boats which carry seven tons each are drawn along by one horse to Manchester.

The canal in other places is carried over public roads by means of arches, and where it is too high the road is lowered with a gentle descent, and rises again on the other side. But one of the most stupendous works on this canal is the noble aqueduct over the river Irwell, where the canal runs forty feet above the river, and where the Duke's barges are seen passing on the canal and the vessels in the river in full sail under them. At Barton-bridge, three miles from Worsley, this aqueduct begins, and is carried for upwards of two hundred yards over a valley; and at the Irwell it is about forty feet above the level of the river. When the works approached this spot, they were viewed by several artists, who pronounced the completion impracticable, and one surveyor went so far as to call it *building a castle in the air*. The Duke was repeatedly advised to drop the business, but confiding in the assurances of Mr. Brindley, he persevered, and the aqueduct over the river Irwell will remain as a monument of the public spirit of the Duke of Bridgwater, and the abilities of the artist, for ages.

In this canal are many stops and flood-gates so contrived, that should any of the banks give way, the flood-gates rise by the motion, and prevent any great quantity of water from overflowing the country. The aqueduct is constructed at considerable labour and expence. Indeed, the Duke had resolved that in the execution of this work no expence should be spared, and that every thing should be complete. That to avoid locks the canal should be constructed on a level, to accomplish which, many difficulties occurred, that to any genius less fertile than Brindley's, would have been insurmountable.

The aqueduct which is carried over meadows on each side the Mersey, and cross Sale Moor, at incredible expence, required of Brindley all the exertions of his art, and deserves to be noticed. He first caused trenches to be made, and then placed deal balks in an upright position, backing and supporting them with other balks laid lengthways and in rows, driving in some thousands of oak piles in different lengths between them, on the front side of which he threw the clay and earth, and rammed them together to form the canal. Having thus finished forty yards he removed the balks and proceeded as before.

At Stratford the caisson was forty yards long and thirty two broad. Open bottomed boats were employed in this caisson to carry and discharge loads of earth, and thereby raise the ground where the level required it. At Cambroke is a circular wear to keep the water of the canal to its proper height; the surplus flows over the nave of a circle in the middle of the wear, and, by a subterraneous tunnel, is conveyed to the usual channels. In order to feed that end of the navigation which is near Manchester, Brindley raised the river Medlock by a large and beautiful wear built of stone, bedded in terrass, and clamped with iron. The water when at proper height to supply the navigation, flows over the nave.

In short this canal is carried over rivers and vallies, and no obstacle seems capable of arresting Brindley in the execution of his plan. The ingenuity and contrivance displayed throughout the whole was wonderful. The smiths' forges, carpenters' and masons' workshops, were all on covered barges, which floated on the canal and followed the work from place to place.

Having completed this work in the year 1760, the whole was opened in presence of the young Duke, many of his friends, and a vast concourse of people from every part of the country, with great ceremony and rejoicing; and the Duke had the satisfaction to see the extraordinary man he had patronized, succeed even beyond his hopes.

But the Duke's designs were not confined to this canal. On a further survey and taking levels, he found it practicable to extend his canal from Longford-bride to the river Mersey; and in the second year of the present King, the Duke procured another Act of Parliament to extend his line from his first canal to the Mersey. Here, also, he met with a strong and ill-judged opposition, but at length succeeded, and the success of this undertaking is another proof of the Duke's judgment. The whole length from Worsley to Manchester, is twenty-nine miles; there is not any fall on the whole line, except at Runcorn, into the river Mersey, where there are locks which convey the boats down ninety-four feet into the river in a very short space of time. The whole was completed in about five years after.

But what is seen above ground is only a part of the Duke's stupendous undertaking. His mines run under a large mountain, and a subterraneous passage is cut in the hill to an amazing extent, which, being level with the canal, is used to convey the boats out.

It is not uncommon for travellers to visit the sides of the canal to satisfy their curiosity by entering these subterraneous passages. A short account of one of these visits may with propriety be introduced here, as not only descriptive of this great work, but which may serve to convey an idea of other mines.

" You enter with lighted candles the subterraneous " passage in a boat: in this manner you proceed up " the canal to the lake at the head of the mine, distant " three quarters of a mile. The two folding doors at " the mouth are immediately shut on your entrance, to " keep out too much air, if the wind blows; and you " then proceed by the light of your candles, which cast " a livid gloom, serving only to make darkness visible. " But this dismal gloom is rendered still more awful by " the solemn echo of this subterraneous lake, which " returns various and discordant sounds. At one mo- " ment you are struck by the grating noise of engines, " which by a curious contrivance let down the coals into " the boats. At another you hear the shock of an ex- " plosion, occasioned by blowing up the hard rock, " which will not yield to any other force than that of " gunpowder; immediately after which, perhaps, your " ears are saluted by the songs of merriment from either " sex, who thus beguile their labours in the mine. " When you reach the head of the mine, a new scene " opens to your view. You behold men and women, " almost in their primitive state of nature, toiling in " different capacities by the glimmering of a dim taper, " some digging the jetty ore out of the bowels of the " earth, some loading it into little waggons for that " purpose, others drawing the waggons to the boats."

To enter further into a detail of the Duke's works is unnecessary; it is sufficient to say they have fully answered his purpose. An idea may be formed of the immense profit arising from this undertaking by a recent event. When the loan, commonly called the Loy-

alty Loan, was negociating, his Grace was able to subscribe for, and actually paid down immediately, the sum of 100,000l. Besides the Duke's concern in this canal, he has been a liberal promoter and subscriber to that great work the grand trunk navigation, which extends from his own navigation at Preston-brook to the river Trent, near Derby. He is also so much convinced of the general utility of these kinds of undertakings, that he is ever ready to assist with his parliamentary influence the furthering of any well-digested plan.

In politics, the Duke of Bridgwater has not taken any very active part. Yet we sometimes find him at his place in the House of Peers. In 1762 his name is in the division, on a motion to withdraw the British troops from Germany, and on the loss of the motion joining in a protest. When the repeal of the American Stamp Act was in agitation, his Grace was a strong opposer of that measure; and in 1784, when a certain powerful interest was made use of to prevent Mr. Fox's India Bill from passing into a law, the Duke was active therein. In general his politics have been guided by that of his noble brother-in-law the Marquis of Stafford.

(1800.)

MR. JEFFERSON,

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

MR. JEFFERSON was born in Virginia, and is now supposed to be somewhat turned of fifty. He is the son of a gentleman of that state, the same who was joint-commissioner with Colonel Fry for settling and extending the boundary line between Virginia, and North Carolina, in 1749.

He was educated in his native land, from which he was never absent till its service demanded his residence at the Court of Paris, whither he was sent as an Envoy.

Mr. Jefferson is tall, and of slender make, fresh complexion, clear penetrating eyes, hair inclining to red, and of very modest and affable deportment. He was, professionally, bred a lawyer, though born to an affluent fortune; yet the public demand for the exercise of his talents in a higher sphere left him but little time to display his native eloquence as a barrister, nor was he of a turn to profit by the arts of ordinary practice. His country called him forward at a very early period; and promised herself, in his abilities, those very important ends which have been so conspicuously realized in whatsoever he has been engaged.

In private life, in his younger days, (the only days which fortune seems to have allotted to him for an uninterrupted social intercourse with the world) he was, in every circle, (and all of the first were competitors

for his presence) its ornament, instructor, and pride. Close application had supplied the want of many European advantages. Without neglecting the particular study to which his primary employments were devoted, Mr. Jefferson found also sufficient hours to attend to the politer acquirements. In these auxiliary accomplishments, he attained a knowledge in drawing, geometry, geography, astronomy, natural philosophy, and music, in which he was considered a proficient; nor was his information in hiſtory and state affairs neglected for these adornments.

At an early age he married a mild and amiable wife, the daughter of a Mr. Wayles, an eminent counsellor in Virginia: an affectionate partner, who, unfortunately, no longer exists! The death of this lady of course devolved on him a more weighty parental care, in the education of her two lovely daughters; they have been reared under his immediate inspection, and have accompanied his diplomatic functions whithersoever they have been directed.

It could not be expected that a man of such qualifications, in a country which stood so much in need of them, could be suffered long to remain in philosophic retirement: man is not born for himself alone, and the vote of his constituents claimed his labours in the fields of jurisprudence.

In the Legislature of Virginia he became a distinguished and useful member, and has left many traces on record of sufficient importance to indicate future greatness.

During the revolutionary period which separated the United States from the Mother Country, we find him advancing to a still more dignified station: he was one of those in whose hands the people thought fit to confide the most material events of their political existence and future happiness. He was honoured with the pub-

lic confidence during its most important struggles, and sat two years in the famous Congress which brought about the Revolution, and which is now every where highly respected. In this Congress he sustained a character which will stand dignified to the end of time: a character which can never better, perhaps, be expressed, than it already is by the pencil of Mr. Trumbull.

A greater example of unlimited confidence than was evidenced in the address of his constituents on the awful occasion of this delegation, will, probably, never be recorded in history. "You assert that there is a fixed "intention to invade our rights and privileges; we own "that we do not see this clearly, but since you assure "us that it is so, we believe the fact. We are about "to take a very dangerous step, but we confide in you, "and are ready to support you in every measure you "shall think proper to adopt." To proceed farther in this paragraph, with feeble accounts of a man who should be only mentioned to be revered, would be to offer insult to the superior pens which have preceded, and merit a stigma for arrogance: the Duke de Liancourt,* to the character of an agriculturist, (which both he and the Board of Agriculture of England have bestowed on Mr. Jefferson) has added the following very beautiful and faithful picture:

"They must be very ignorant of the history of America who know not that Mr. "Jefferson shared with George Washington, Franklin, John Adams, Mr. Jay, and "a few others, the toils and dangers of the Revolution in all its different stages; "that in the famous Congress which guided and consolidated it, he displayed a boldness and firmness of character, a fund of talents and knowledge, and a steadiness of "principles, which will hand down his name to posterity with glory, and assure to "him for ever the respect and gratitude of all the friends of liberty. It was he who, "in the famous Congress, so respectable and so much respected, in that Congress, "ever inaccessible to the seduction, fear, and apparent weakness of the people—who "jointly with Mr. Lee, another deputy of Virginia, proposed the declaration of independence. It was he who, supported principally by John Adams, pressed the "deliberation on the subject, and carried it, bearing down the wary prudence of

* Travels in North America, vol. ii. p. 69, &c. quarto edit.

" some of his colleagues, possessed of an equal share of patriotism, but of less courage. " It was he who was charged with drawing up this master-piece of dignified wisdom " and patriotic pride. It was he who, being afterwards appointed Governor of Vir- " ginia, at the period of the invasion of Arnold and Cornwallis, acquired a peculiar " claim on the gratitude of his fellow-citizens. It was he who, as the first Ambas- " sador of the United States in France, filled at that momentous epocha, that distin- " guished post to the satisfaction of both nations. In fine, it was he who, as Secre- " tary of State in 1792, when the ridiculous and disorganizing pretensions of Mr. " Genet, and the lofty arrogance of the British Minister, endeavoured alternately to " abuse the political weakness of the United States, induced his Government to speak " a noble and independent language, which would have done credit to the most for- " midable power. The long correspondence carried on with these two designing " agents would, from its just, profound, and able reasoning, be alone sufficient to " confer on its author the reputation of an accomplished Statesman."

Here we must recur to a critical period in Mr. Jefferson's civil administration. He was the second Governor of Virginia, under its renovated constitution, the successor of that Patrick Henry who was the successor of Lord Dunmore, and who boldly held the reins of a yet untried system.

At this arduous period he had much to contend with; for he was not only the object of an open enemy in the field, but sustained the insidious artifice of an assassin-like faction, who assailed his reputation in the dark, ever ready to stab it with a secret whisper. Justice to this gentleman demands a notice of some of the more overt attacks which were made on him, and which, though vague and loose in themselves, have been frequently recited by men ready enough to do him evil: it has been objected that he abandoned the Government of Virginia to its enemies, and sought personal safety in his flight to the mountains; and that he refused to pay military claims in preference to those of the civil list, during his administration of that government.

If the first of these loose insinuations is supposed to apply to the evacuation of the Virginia metropolis, an American Officer now present was with him on the occasion, and contradicts the fact: if to the second visit which

General Tarleton did himself the honour of paying to the deliberating councils of that country, the whole legislature must have been equally implicated; *Dum armes silent leges!* The propriety of his pecuniary appropriations are, perhaps, easily to be justified.

In regard to the first point of view, facts authorise the bold assertion, that the Government deserted Mr. Jefferson, not that Mr. Jefferson deserted the Government, on this occasion of unparalleled risk and difficulty. The gentleman present, and now ready to testify, was at that period an Officer in the confidence of the Commanding General in that part of the country, and was, on this particular occasion, sent to Mr. Jefferson with dispatches of an important nature, (being choicely mounted, by the General's particular order, on the most noted running horse which the whole country afforded). He found Mr. Jefferson in the town of Manchester, opposite to *Richmond*, which is the *metropolis* spoken of, and then about fourteen miles from the rear of General Arnold, who was retiring from his depredatory incursion. He learnt from the few confidential friends who surrounded the Governor, that his Excellency had been busily engaged, even in personal labour, to secure those very arms in a place of safety which were abandoned by his citizens to the mercy of the enemy; while some, indeed, were as industriously employed in circulating falsehoods to his prejudice.

In the respect of his pecuniary appropriations, before alluded to, gentlemen of the army seem to have been a little premature in imbibing a prejudice against a public character, whose office demanded of him an independent exercise of his judgment. This might in part, perhaps, proceed from the imperfect knowledge to which military life in general attains, in the affairs of civil government, and partly from those false suggestions which are wont to arise from the malice of faction. It is true that a part of the army were discontented with Mr. Jefferson, and it is equally so that their jealousy of

pecuniary partialities was the chief cause; but it remains to be determined whether this was a reasonable dissatisfaction. It was a prevalent complaint that the civil list were paid while the claims of the military were unattended to. In canvassing this murmur, let us take a view of the premises.—Every one knows the situation of Virginia at that time; her credit was sunk, her strength exhausted by the marching and counter-marching of her troops, invaded by a powerful enemy, and her contingent fund at a very low ebb: certainly the propriety of supporting her *civil* government through such disasters will be viewed as a primary object by all sound politicians. Without *that* supreme head the very cause which called for a defence would have been annihilated, and the dissatisfied military would have been disorganized, and no longer necessary. With regard to the component individuals who were included in the civil list, it was necessary to support them; for to do this was essential to the existence of jurisprudence, and indispensibly necessary for the support of good order in the community. The people of the metropolis (Richmond) where neither willing nor able to take the whole burthen of government upon their own shoulders; nor were they, on any account, bound to submit to it: yet the departments of administration must necessarily reside there, and the inhabitants must as necessarily be paid for accommodating men who, having sacrificed the conveniencies of life to the duties of public service, were unavoidably dependent on the national fund. Had the treasury of the state been adequate to the whole demand, it is presumed no man would have felt greater pleasure than Mr. Jefferson in the accommodation of all their wants; for benevolence is a trait in his constitution which has more than once placed his private credulity in the hands of the swindler. It is moreover to be considered, that the civil list contained but a small number of individuals; the military roll comprized a very large one. Of two evils it was certainly proper to choose the least; besides, the military had one resource which was beyond the immediate power of the civil authority;—

their arms and the laws of war empowered and justified them in taking needful supplies (otherwise than in waste) from those to whom Providence had been most bountiful; for such had been made the common lot of the war, the whole property of the people being voluntarily pledged for its defence, at the period of its commencement. Some of the military, however, had a different sense of these matters, and preferred to quarter upon the Chief Magistrate, those whom rank and military pride should have better instructed in the rules of decorum and common civility.

As early as the year 1774, Mr. Jefferson had appeared in print, and it was about this distracted period of revolutionary commotion that, amidst his numerous official functions, he was called upon by a foreigner of distinction, *(said to be thus required by the King of France)* to furnish those notes on the state of Virginia which have been since that time published to the world, and have added somewhat to his literary reputation. It is to be regretted that these notes contain, perhaps, an inadvertent reflection on the character of an Officer, which has been the subject of animadversion in the American prints, and has been severely reprehended by the son-in-law of the offended party :* mention is made of this unlucky circumstance because it would be partial to hide it, and yet it seems equally proper to cast a shade over its remembrance, because it does not seem natural to the general texture of his mind to do any man a *wilful* injury. The picture drawn by Mr. Jefferson is certainly a high-coloured one; and, taking all things together, it seems to present him as the dupe of misinformation, unless we admit the charitable supposition that the extatic moments of Indian exordium may be allowed to elevate a man above the *homo sapiens Americanus* and above ordinary responsibility. I wish for his sake, and for his country's, that no farther mischief may ensue

* See his character of Colonel Cresap—Jefferson's notes, page 104.

from the issue which has been taken in this point; and, as it must be highly honourable to Mr. Jefferson to retract in a case of error, I am persuaded that the happiest termination on both sides will be found in eclaircissement and obliteration.*

To return to particulars of Mr. Jefferson's official life, and to contemplate insinuations to his prejudice as thrown out to the world by those partisans of evil who

[* The American Editors conceive it their duty, as friends to truth and justice, to offer the following testimonies, selected from a "cloud of witnesses," as complete evidence, that Mr. Jefferson has *not* "been the dupe of misinformation." They are extracted from "an appendix to the Notes of Virginia, relative to the murder of Logan's family," lately published—]

Extract of a letter from the honorable judge INNES *of Frankfort in Kentucky, to* THOMAS JEFFERSON; *dated Kentucky, near Frankfort, March 2d,* 1799.

I RECOLLECT to have seen Logan's speech in 1775, in one of the public prints. That Logan conceived Cresap to be the author of the murder at Yellow creek, it is in my power to give, perhaps, a more particular information than any other person you can apply to.

In 1774, I lived in Fincastle county, now divided into Washington, Montgomery, and part of Wythe. Being intimate with Col. Preston's family, I happened in July to be at his house, when an express was sent to him as the county Lieut. requesting a guard of the militia to be ordered out for the protection of the inhabitants residing low down on the north fork of Holston River. The express brought with him a war club, and a note which was left tied to it at the house of one Robertson, whose family were cut off by the Indians, and gave rise for the application to Col. Preston, of which the following is a copy, then taken by me in my memorandum book.

"Captain Cresap,

"What did you kill my people on Yellow creek for? The white people killed my "kin, at Conestoga, a great while ago; and I thought nothing of that. But you "killed my kin again, on Yellow creek, and took my cousin prisoner. Then I "thought I must kill too; and I have been three times to war since; but the Indians "are not angry: only myself."

Captain JOHN LOGAN.

July 21st, 1774.

With very great respect, I am, Dear Sir,
your most obedient servant,
HARRY INNES.

alone have cause to dread his administration, it is more safe to rely on facts than aspersions. In 1774, he was the author of " A Summary View of the Rights of Bri-

(EXTRACT.)

Allegheny County, ss.
State of Pennsylvania.

THIS Deponent further saith, that in the year 1774, he accompanied lord Dunmore on the expedition against the Shawnese and other Indians on the Siota, that on their arrival within fifteen miles of the towns, they were met by a flag, and a white man of the name of Elliot, who informed lord Dunmore that the chiefs of the Shawnese had sent to request his lordship to halt his army and send in some person, who understood their language; that this deponent, at the request of lord Dunmore, and the whole of the officers with him, went in; that on his arrival at the towns, Logan, the Indian, came to where this deponent was sitting with the Corn-Stock, and the other chiefs of the Shawnese, and asked him to walk out with him; that they went into a copse of wood, where they sat down, when Logan, after shedding abundance of tears, delivered to him the speech, nearly as related by Mr. Jefferson in his notes on the State of Virginia; that he the deponent told him then that it was not Col. Cresap who had murdered his relations, and that although his son Captain Michael Cresap was with the party who killed a Shawnese chief and other Indians, yet he was not present when his relations were killed at Bakers, near the mouth of Yellow creek on the Ohio: that this deponent on his return to camp, delivered the speech to lord Dunmore; and that the murders perpetrated as above were considered as ultimately the cause of the war of 1774, commonly called Cresap's war.

Sworn and subscribed the 4th of April, 1800, at Pittsburg, before me,

JOHN GIBSON.

JER. PARKER.

The certificate of JOHN ANDERSON, a merchant in Fredericksburg, Virginia; communicated by Mann Page, Esq. of Mansfield, near Fredericksburg, who, in the letter accompanying it, says, " Mr. John Anderson has for many years past been settled in Fredericksburg, in the mercantile line. I have known him in prosperous and adverse situations. He has always shown the greatest degree of equanimity, his honesty and veracity are unimpeachable. These things can be attested by all the respectable part of the town, and neighbourhood of Fredericksburg."

MR. JOHN ANDERSON, a merchant in Fredericksburg, says, that in the year 1774, being a trader in the Indian country, he was at Pittsburg, to which place he had a cargo brought up the river in a boat navigated by a Delaware Indian and a white man. That on their return down the river, with a cargo, belonging to Messrs. Butler, Michael Cresap fired on the boat, and killed the Indian, after which two men

" tish America :" will any man venture to assert that he did not comprehend those rights ? Then why should he become the *partisan of France* to infringe the very rights which he had defined, and so long supported ?

of the name of Gatewood and others of the name of *Tumblestone, who lived on the opposite side of the river from the Indians, with whom they were on the most friendly terms, invited a party of them to come over and drink with them; and that, when the Indians were drunk, they murdered them to the number of six, among whom was Logan's mother. That five other Indians uneasy at the absence of their friends, came over the river to enquire after them; when they were fired upon, and two were killed, and the others wounded. This was the origin of the war.

I certify the above to be true to the best of my recollection.

JOHN ANDERSON.

Attest.

DAVID BLAIR, 30th June, 1798.

A copy of LOGAN's speech given by the late general MERCER, who fell in the battle of Trenton, January, 1776, to LEWIS WILLIS, *Esquire, of Fredericksburg, in Virginia, upwards of 20 years ago, (from the date of February, 1798,) communicated through* MANN PAGE, *Esquire.*

" The ſpeech of LOGAN, a Shawnese chief, to lord Dunmore."

[Here follows a copy of the speech agreeing verbatim with that in the Notes on Virginia.]

A copy of LOGAN's SPEECH, from the Notes on Virginia, having been sent to captain ANDREW RODGERS of Kentucky, he subjoined the following certificate.

In the year 1774 I went out with the Virginia Volunteers, and was in the battle at the mouth of Canhawee, and afterwards proceeded over the Ohio to the Indian towns. I did not hear Logan make the above speech; but from the unanimous accounts of those in camp, I have reason to think that said speech was delivered to Dunmore. I remember to have heard the very things contained in the above speech related by some of our people in camp at that time.

ANDREW RODGERS.

* The popular pronunciation of Tomlinson, which was the real name.

In 1780-1, he was Governor of Virginia. All the objections to his administration which have yet been heard of are herein before fairly stated, and controverted on the personal knowledge of the writer. Is there a single insinuation that will bear reflection, although he governed under every possible impediment of invasion and insurrection ?

In 1781, he wrote his Notes on Virginia. These were not intended for the press; yet they have found their way into print. Can any man say that he has cause to be ashamed of the principles he has avowed there? Let his book be read, it will bear witness for the man.

But there is one of his avowed acts in the appendix which opens his whole political soul, in the very moment of success, (call it even impunity) the termination

The foregoing form but a small part of the evidence Mr. Jefferson has adduced in support of what he has advanced relative to Logan. Near the conclusion of the appendix, he observes—

"Of the genuineness of that speech (Logan's) nothing need be said. It was known to the camp where it was delivered: it was given out by lord Dunmore and his officers; it ran through the public papers of these states; was rehearsed as an exercise at schools; published in the papers and periodical works of Europe; and all this, a dozen years before it was copied into the Notes on Virginia. In fine, Gen. Gibson concludes the question for ever, by declaring that he received it from Logan's hand, delivered it to lord Dunmore, translated it for him, and that the copy in the Notes on Virginia is a faithful copy.

"The popular account of these transactions, as stated in the Notes on Virginia, appears on collecting exact information, imperfect and erroneous in its details. It was the belief of the day; but how far its errors were the prejudice of Cresap the reader will now judge. That he and those under him, murdered two Indians above Wheeling: that they murdered a larger number at Grave creek, among whom were a part of the family and relations of Logan, cannot be questioned; and as little that this led to the massacre of the rest of the family at Yellow creek. Logan imputed the whole to Cresap in his war-note and peace-speech; the Indians generally imputed it to Cresap: Lord Dunmore and his officers imputed it to Cresap: the country with one accord imputed it to him: and whether he were innocent let the universal verdict now declare."

of the war in 1783 ; it is, his draught of a fundamental constitution. In the summer of 1783 it was expected that the people of Virginia would call a convention together for the purpose of establishing and reviving the essential spirit of their rights, by the formation of a radical law, or, in other, words, *constitution.* Mr. Jefferson (who doubtless would have been an active member of that body) had prepared himself at leisure, and deliberately digested the form of a constitution, such as he conceived calculated to secure the rights and liberty of his country, in the most permanent manner, and with the least possible restraint on individual inclination.*

He opens the plan of this constitution with a declaration to the world of the nature of the war, and of other pre-existing circumstances which had rendered the proposed measure necessary. He proposes that a convention should be invited by the voluntary resolution of the legislature ; and, of course, deduces the dependence and submission of the law giving power to its origin, *the People.* From this constitutional convention of the community, he delegates the departments of jurisprudence to a legislative, judicial, and executive authority ; and he balances the whole very nicely in equilibrio. He divides the Legislature into two houses, and renders their concurrence an essential of their laws. He proposes that their election should be annual. He adjusts the equality of election by proportioning the county representatives to the number of the electors, and by limiting the number of delegates of which that house shall consist. His senatorial division consists of districts and classes. He establishes the method of voting *viva voce*, and gives the right of suffrage to all who are enrolled in the militia. He regulates and confines the time and manner of legislative meeting and adjournment ; and, giving to the Governor a power of convening them, admits a latitude in the case of infection or invasion,

* See Jefferson's Notes, Appendix, page 356.

which may render a temporary removal expedient. A majority of either house forms its quorum. He allows the members no *privilege* whatever beyond personal protection while they are engaged on public business; and, (what may seem extraordinary in England) he makes the market price of *wheat* the medium of their wages, thereby (I apprehend) stimulating an attention to agriculture, while he dispenses the medium of equity. Ultimately, he pays a due and scrupulous attention to the doctrines of *exclusion*, *vacancies*, and *limits of power*.

To the Executive Governor, the council of State, and its President, Mr. Jefferson has paid equal attention, as well as to the judiciary department. He has also proposed a *council of revision*, to consist of members from the two several departments of the executive and judicial: to this council he proposes the submission of all bills (which shall have passed the legislature) before they become ultimately a law; and, from the rules laid down in this case, it seems next to impossible that the legislative wisdom of the country should be surprized into the act of *a party*.

He has been equally attentive to the preservation of the state sovereignty and the consistency of the confederacy. In the appointment of delegates to Congress, he has left the election in the hands of the state legislature, but has been careful to exclude the members of the executive power from either voice or seat.

He has particularly guarded the writ of *habeas corpus* as the right of every man, and that ten days shall be the longest possible stretch of imprisonment after such writ is demanded.

He has taken due care to subject the military authority to the civil power. Printing presses are only responsible for the propagation of falsehood; and constitutional conventions may be called whenever they are thought to

be needful by two out of the three branches of government.

Such is the magna charta devised by this great and *honest* statesman: how people in England should conceive a man dangerous, and as a partial friend to France, who is so willing to tie his own hands from doing mischief, is miraculous. But the wisdom and justice of his public character will appear in a light yet more true, perhaps, if we examine how far he may have practised the principles he has prescribed, during his civil administration in the capacities of Delegate in Congress, Foreign Ambassador, and Secretary of State.

In the year 1782-3, he was in Congress, from whence he was appointed as Ambassador to the Court of Spain, but the approach of peace, it is presumed, rendered his voyage unnecessary. In 1784, he was still in or at Congress, at Annapolis, in Maryland. In March, 1786, Mr. Jefferson was in England.

Shortly after this period we find him at the Court of Versailles, from whence he communicated his negotiations concerning the freedom of the tobacco trade, the powerful opposition of the farmers-general, &c. to Mr. Jay, Minister of Foreign Affairs at New York, in a letter dated May 27, 1786. In this letter he evinces considerable diplomatic talents, and success, having gained the approbation of Mr. de Vergennes, and the acquiescence of Mr. de Calonne. He has also recommended to the people of Carolina an improvement in preparing their staple commodity, *rice*, in order to lead the Mediterranean market.

His attention to the fine arts in the midst of his diplomatic functions is not only a very striking proof of the universality of Mr. Jefferson's genius, but strongly evinces his application to those important points which militate to the improvement of his native country, and contribute to promote the happiness of man.

A mind thus elevated above the ordinary employments of its species is little susceptible of the dirty influence of party policy: it is only for the groveling disposition which is incapable of leaving the beaten track of evil habit, that such a limited spirit is truly appropriate. In a very concise letter to Dr. Stiles, President of Yale College, dated Paris, September 1st, 1786, this gentleman displays a fund of sentiment and information sufficient to entitle him to the confidence of his country, and the admiration of society: he has, indeed, suggested a new idea, *that the people of Asia are descended from the American Indians;* but he has strongly supported this conjecture with at least well chosen facts.

When we find a man, in recess from public duty, capable of exploring the wilds of nature, the connections of the human species, and the ancient intercourse of long lost nations with each other; when we find him attentive to painting, to literature and the fine arts, to the purity of metals, to the improvement of optics, of transposition by fac-simile, and of science in general, we must allow him a grade above the tools of faction, admit him to a higher seat of dignity than the mere modeller of a national treaty about tobacco and rice, and allow him fitting qualifications for the presidential chair of a new country, which stands in need of expansive talents.

On the 22d of October, 1786, Mr. de Calonne announced to Mr. Jefferson, by letter from Fontainbleau, the intention of the King of France to favour the commerce of the United States as much as possible; to double the number of their free ports; to reduce the duties which were prejudicial to the commerce with America; that after the expiration of a contract made by the farmers-general with Mr. Morris (concerning tobacco) no similar one should be permitted; and that, during the existence of the term of Mr. M's contract, the farmers general should be compelled to purchase

annually about fifteen thousand hogsheads of American tobacco; this regulation of the tobacco trade (though not wholly in conformity to the principles proposed by Mr. Jefferson in his letter to the Count de Vergennes) appears to have been the result of Mr. Jefferson's negotiation, which had it at first in view to eradicate that monopoly entirely.

In the arguments used by Mr. Jefferson on this occasion, in respect to abolishing the duties of France upon the oil trade, he apppears to have carried equal conviction; for although France could not consent to a total abolition, she puts the United States on a footing with the Hanse Towns, and Mr. de Calonne assigns her pre-existing treaties with other powers as a reason for her doing no more: his most Christian Majesty, moreover, thought fit to abolish the duties of fabrication upon this article.

On this occasion he also obtained an encouragement of the Carolina rice-trade; and, an abolition of duties upon the articles of pot-ash, pearl-ash, beaver-skins, hair, and raw leather, masts, yards, knees for ship-building, red cedar, green oak and timber of all kinds; ships built in the United States; shrubs, trees, and seeds from the States, and books and paper exported thither. There was also granted, on this negotiation, certain facilities on the exportation of the wines of Bourdeaux, Guyenne, and Touraine; and on the exportation of arms and military stores to the States.

At this period the consumption of *Carolina*-rice in France appears to have been about one-half of their total demand, as stated in a letter from Mr. Jefferson to Dr. Ramsay of South Carolina, dated 27th October, 1786, at Paris. As much of this consumption, however, was connected with *fasting and praying*, the Carolina *rice*-trade affords an argument in favour of the *mitre*, as well as that of the *cod-fishery*; and there does not appear to be any spice of democracy in Mr. Jefferson,

which should render him at this day a partisan against the interests of his native territory, or the Pope.

We do not find any material public measure to be noticed concerning the present worthy object of our consideration, between the years 1786, to 1789. Mr. Jefferson formed, it seems, during that period, several interesting literary acquaintances in France, to an intercourse with whom he chiefly devoted that leisure with which he was saddled by the growing discords of the country.

In 1789, Mr. Jefferson returned from France; and the pacific revolution, or rather *reformation*, of that period having taken place by unanimous consent and approbation of the several sovereign States, Mr. Jefferson was appointed Secretary of State to the Federal government.

In this eminent capacity, he was called on to perform many arduous duties of office; and the difficulty of performing these in a safe and satisfactory manner, was greatly enhanced by the consideration of pursuing an unbeaten path in the organization of a new-born system. In whatsoever he undertook, however, he succeeded to the public satisfaction, and displayed unequaled talent and application.

On the 15th January, 1790, the House of Representatives referred to him, as Secretary of State, to report on the plan or plans which might be most proper for reducing the currency, weights and measures of the United States to an uniform standard. In considering this question, he gave ample proofs of his mathematical abilities; but, what adds to the perfection of this report* is, the conciseness of method, the spirit of natural philosophy, the assiduity of research, the discriminating precision, and the profundity of judgment with which it is every way replete.

* Report on Weights, Measures and Coins, 14th April, 1790.

On the 1st February, 1791, Mr. Jefferson reported, in his official capacity, the state of the Cod and Whale Fisheries, which had, in like manner, been referred to him by the House of Representatives.

It could scarcely be supposed that this was a favourite topic with a man who had been bred in the mountains, a native of Virginia, where no such fisheries exist; or, that he could be any more at home to the fisherman's habits and personal interests, than a farmer would be at sea on board a first-rate ship of war. Mr. Jefferson, however, had "placed his mind with his house on an "elevated scite, from whence he might contemplate the "universe."* and we find him equally attentive to the more remote interests of his country, as to those of his immediate neighbourhood: one might conceive him, indeed, from this document, to have been a regular-bred Boston merchant, who had accumulated a fortune in the traffic of spermaceti: but we must admit him to be a merchant of superior information to the plodder of pounds, shillings and pence, and recommend his report to the perusal of that intermediating class who would facilitate the great interests of commerce, without preying upon the public faith or the vitals of trade. In this report Mr. Jefferson recurs back to the earliest periods, and takes a copious view of the subject without prolixity: as an historian, he conveys abundant information; as a politician, he dives to the bottom of causes and effects; as a calculator, he shews himself skilled in arithmetic; as an American, he recounts the advantages and inconveniences which relate to his country; and, as a statesman, he developes the detail of every political disease with an ability that is only equalled by the excellence of his remedy, which is very far above the latitude of a groveling party policy.

We come now to one of the most important periods in the history of commerce: the period at which the ambassador of the King of England became a resident

* Chastelleux's remark on this gentleman.

at the Court of America,* and the citizen minister of the French Republic,† assailed the firmness of her neutral principles. In this probationary state of her political existence, the burthen of the day fell on the shoulders of Mr. Jefferson: We need not say with what ability he sustained the shock; on this head the Duke de Liancourt has left us nothing to communicate. Over the unpleasant occurences of that trying period the two governments have wisely drawn a veil, and it shall not be our work to rend or to remove it.

Suffice it to say that, with both nations the correspondence was voluminous and intricate: it is apprehended to be, nevertheless, impartial on the side of Mr. Jefferson, and is somewhat important on the side of truth, against that insiduous intrigue which dares impute to him an unworthy attachment.

In his letter, of the 15th May, 1793, addressed to the predecessor of Mr. Genet (Mr. Ternant), he defines the law of nations with perspicuity, and determines on an impartial observance of it: nay more, he abandons the citizens of America to the consequences of infraction, if, on either side, they depart from neutrality.

On a complaint from a British subject, stated in this same letter, that the Consul of France residing at Charleston, in South Carolina, had condemned, there, a British vessel captured by a French frigate, Mr. Jefferson remonstrates in the following words: "We have not "full evidence that the case has happened; but on such "an hypothesis, while we should be disposed to view it "in this instance, as an error in judgment in the par- "ticular officer, we should rely, Sir, that you would "interpose efficaciously to prevent a repetition of the er- "ror by him, or any other, of the Consuls of your na- "tion."

On another complaint of the same nature, which states that privateers had been fitted out from American

* Mr. Hammond. † Genet.

ports, and manned, in part, by American seamen to cruize against the ships of Great Britain, Mr. Jefferson makes the following observation to the minister of France: "Without taking all these facts for granted, "we have not hesitated to express our highest disap- "probation of the conduct of any of our citizens, who "may personally engage in committing hostilities at "sea, against any of the nations parties to the present "war; to declare that, if the case has happened, or that "should it happen, we will exert all the means with "which the laws and constitution have armed us, to "discover such offenders, and to bring them to con- "dign punishment."

Thus it is to be discovered (in the direct secretarial act of Mr. Jefferson, wherein, in the infancy of this contest, the head of this department has been less guided by a formal submission to the President, than by the rectitude of a heart, and the wisdom of a head, in which the supreme chief of the Union had an abundant confidence), that there is nothing in Mr. Jefferson's principles which should attach him to the factions of France, or any act which may be deemed incompatible with the duties of neutrality. If we were to follow him through the subsequent labyrinth of diplomatic intrigue, wherein the then existing rulers of France had employed their chosen corps in arming American citizens, in disorganizing the government of the United States, and in endeavours to involve her in the war, we shall find him equally vigilant and impartial: where then, may we ask, is the evidence of Gallic partiality which Englishmen have ascribed to him? or what are his dreaded principles? The failure of affirmative evidence, as well as a too voluminous proof of innocence, bid us desist from a farther disprobate!

As we now approach the period of Mr. Jefferson's retirement, for a short interval to his domestic concerns, and afterwards to the less active, though highly dignified office of Vice President, we shall only add one more

notice of his official acts in the employment of Secretary of State: He was called on by a resolution of the House of Representatives, dated February the 23d, 1791, to report on the privileges and restrictions of commercial intercourse; but the weighty concerns of organization, the ordinary calls of his official duties, and the cabals of foreign ministers, had occupied so much of his time, that he had not leisure to make this report till the 16th December, 1793; and even then found it proper to confine it to the summer of 1792, (where he had been called off from it by extraneous concerns) that he might be thereby enabled to speak with greater certainty to a settled point of time.

Doubtless, a review of such an extensive commerce, as that of America, must have been a work of immense labour; and one which demanded the intervention of commercial knowledge in the voluminous details with which it is connected. The difficulty, however, is not merely the extent of these: the various items could be accommodated by the help of clerks and transcribers; but it required the abilities of a Jefferson to compress the view, and combine a picture of the whole, which might be comprehended by the ordinary capacity of a popular representation.

In this Mr. Jefferson seems to have succeeded with his accustomed felicity; for he has comprehended a summary of the whole in the space of twenty octavo pages; and yet, he has given the most satisfactory statements of the trade with Great Britain, with France, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, and the United Netherlands, comprehending their respective privileges and restrictions, with an able summary of inconveniencies and remedies.

Shortly after this, one of his last secretarial transactions, Mr. Jefferson retired to his seat at Monticello, in Virginia. In addition to the ties of parental care and the claims of domestic happiness, Mr. Jefferson is said

to have been somewhat induced to this derelictory measure, by the persuasion of a decided party overbalancing his opinions in the presidential decisions. "Immediately after this step," says the Duke de Liancourt,

"Mr. Jefferson was considered by the ruling party as the leader of opposition; he "was suspected of revolutionary views; he was accused of an intention to overturn "the Constitution of the United States, of being the enemy of his country, and of a "wish to become a tribune of the people. It is sufficient to know that Mr. Jefferson is a man of sense, to feel the absurdity of these scandalous imputations, and, "whoever is acquainted with his virtue, must be astonished at their having been preferred against him. His speeches are those of a man firmly attached to the maintenance of the Union, of the present Constitution, and of the independence of the "United States. He is the declared enemy of every new system, the introduction of "which might be attempted, but he is a greater enemy of a kingly * *form of Government than of any other*. He is clearly of opinion, that the present Constitution should be "carefully preserved and defended against all infringements arising from the stretch "of executive power. It was framed and accepted on republican principles, and it is "his wish that it should remain a republican constitution.

"On several occasions," says the Duke, "I have heard him speak with great respect of the virtues of the President,† and in terms of esteem of his sound and unerring judgment.

"But," continues the Duke, "the spirit of party is carried to excess in America; "men who embrace the opinion of Mr. Jefferson, attack their opponents with imputations, no doubt, equally unfounded. In all party-proceedings, neither reason "nor justice can be expected from either side, and very seldom strict morality, with "respect to the means employed to serve the favourite cause: one cause alone appears "good; every thing besides is deemed bad, nay criminal, and probity itself serves to "mislead probity. Personal resentments assume the colour of public spirit, and frequently, when the most odious acts of injustice have been committed, and the most "atrocious calumnies spread, but few members of the party are in the secret, and "know that they are the effusions of injustice and false representation. The truth "of these observations being evident to all men who have lived amidst parties, should "lead to mutual toleration and forbearance.

"In private life Mr. Jefferson displays a mild, easy, and obliging temper, though "he is somewhat cold and reserved. His conversation is of the most agreeable kind, "and he possesses a stock of information not inferior to that of any other man. In

* *Applied to the United States:* he meddles *not with kingdoms elsewhere, and pays due respect to those in authority.*

† The late General Washington.

" Europe he would hold a distinguished rank among men of letters, and as such he " has already appeared there; at present* he is employed with activity and persever- " ance in the management of his farms and buildings; and he orders, directs, and " pursues in the minutest detail, every branch of business relating to them. The au- " thor of this sketch found him in the midst of harvest, from which the scorching heat " of the sun does not prevent his attendance. His negroes are nourished, clothed, and " treated as well as white servants could be. As he cannot expect any assistance from " the two small neighbouring towns, every article is made on his farm: his negroes " are cabinet-makers, carpenters, masons, bricklayers, smiths, &c. The children he " employs in a nail-manufactory, which yields already a considerable profit. The " young and old negresses spin for the clothing of the rest. He animates them by " rewards and distinctions; in fine, his superior mind directs the management of his " domestic concerns, with the same abilities, activity, and regularity, which he evinc- " ed in the conduct of public affairs, and which he is calculated to display in every " situation of life."

Such is the character and life of this great and good member of society; and it would be highly criminal to wish him separated from the bosom of his amiable family, to any other end than those important services to his fellow-creatures, for the performance whereof nature has bestowed on him such an exalted capacity.

(1800.)

[As an appendix to the foregoing biographical sketch, the American editors may add—that in the fall of 1800, Mr. Jefferson was elected, by a large majority of his fellow-citizens, to fill the high and important office of President of the United States. The constitution of the United States provides that two persons shall be elected as President and Vice-President, without granting to the electors the right of designating whom they intend for either office. In consequence of this, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr, being run together, had each

* June, 1795.

the same number of votes. The question, who should be President? of course came before Congress. As Mr. Jefferson was undoubtedly the person intended by the voters for President, the *spirit* of the constitution was assuredly in his favour, but the *letter* placed Mr. Burr on the same grounds with him. Notwithstanding this incontrovertible fact that Mr. Burr was never intended by the electors to be President of the United States, the balloting commenced, and was continued several days with an obstinacy which threatened our happy government with dissolution.——In this ballot each state had one vote, and such was their representation, or, perhaps, *mis*-representation, that neither candidate could obtain a constitutional majority. During this period, when it was expected (shall we say *hoped* by some) that this country would be plunged into the uproar and misery of a civil war, that serenity of mind for which our President is so justly celebrated, left him not. He viewed the mighty controversy, in which the happiness of millions was at stake, with a steady confidence that "all would work together for good." The event justified his expectation. The opposition wearied out with the inflexibility of his friends, or fearing the "trial at the bar of the public reason," at length gave way; and on the 3d of March, 1801, the day on which President Adams' period of service expired, he was declared duly elected. Rarely has a nation known a season of greater solicitude than this country experienced during this memorable balloting. One party *appeared* determined to place an usurper in the Presidential chair (for Mr. Burr could not have been looked upon in any other light) and the other *resolved* that it should be filled by the "*Man of the People.*" Happily justice prevailed, to the sincere joy of every good citizen, and a renewal of friendships took place between men, who a few days before had accounted each other their deadly enemies. On the 4th of March, at 12 o'clock, Mr. Jefferson was sworn into the Presidency, on which occasion he delivered the following speech to both houses of Congress, and a very numerous auditory :—

Friends, and Fellow-Citizens,

CALLED upon to undertake the duties of the first executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow-citizens, which is here assembled, to express my grateful thanks, for the favor with which they have been pleased to look towards me; to declare a sincere consciousness, that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments, which the greatness of the charge, and the weakness of my powers, so justly inspire.

A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land —traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry—engaged in commerce with nations who feel power, and forget right—advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye:—When I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honor, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country, committed to the issue and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking. Utterly, indeed, should I despair, did not the presence of many, whom I here see, remind me, that in the other high authorities, provided by our constitution, I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal, on which to rely under all difficulties. To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support, which may enable us to steer, with safety, the vessel in which we are all embarked, amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world.

During the contest of opinion, through which we have past, the animation of discussion, and of exertions, has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers, unused to think freely, and to write what they think: but this being now decided by the voice of the union, announced according to the rules of the consti-

tution, all will, of course, arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts, for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle—that though the will of the majority is, in all cases, to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable—that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate would be oppression. Let us then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart, and one mind. Let us restore to social intercourse, that harmony and affection, without which, liberty, and even life itself, are but dreary things. And let us reflect, that, having banished from our land, that religious intolerance, under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little, if we countenance a political intolerance, as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions.

During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world—during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking, through blood and slaughter, his long-lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore—that this should be more felt and feared by some, and less by others—and should divide opinions, as to measures of safety. But every difference of opinion, is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names, brethren of the same principle. We are all *Republicans:* we are all *Federalists.* If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this union, or to change its republican form, let them stand, undisturbed, as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear a republican government cannot be strong—that this government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government, which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear, that this government, the world's best hope, may, by possibility, want energy to preserve itself?—I trust not.—I believe this, on the con-

trary, the strongest government on earth.—I believe it the only one, where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order, as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said, that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels, in the form of kings, to govern him? Let history answer this question.

Let us, then, with courage and confidence, pursue our own federal and republican principles—our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated, by nature and a wide ocean, from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe—too high-minded to endure the degradations of the others—possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation—entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties—to the acquisitions of our own industry—to honor and confidence from our fellow-citizens; resulting not from birth, but from our actions, and their sense of them, enlightened by a benign religion, professed, indeed, and practised in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man—acknowledging and adoring an over-ruling Providence, which, by all its dispensations, proves that it delights in the happiness of man here, and his greater happiness hereafter—with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people?—Still one thing more, fellow-citizens, a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another; shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement; and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

About to enter, fellow-citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend every thing dear and valuable

to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political—peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations—entangling alliances with none—the support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies—the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home, and safety abroad—a zealous care of the right of election by the people—a mild and safe corrective of abuses, which are lopped by the sword of revolution, where peaceable remedies are unprovided—absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal, but to force, the vital principle, and immediate parent of despotism—a well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them—the supremacy of the civil over the military authority—economy in the public expence, that labor may be lightly burdened—the honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of public faith—encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce, as its handmaid—the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason—freedom of religion—freedom of the press—and freedom of person, under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries, impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation, which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages, and blood of our heroes, have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith—the text of civic instruction—the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust: and should we wander from

them, in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

I repair, then, fellow-citizens, to the post you have assigned me. With experience enough in subordinate offices, to have seen the difficulties of this, the greatest of all, I have learned to expect, that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man, to retire from this station, with the reputation, and the favor, which bring him into it. Without pretensions to that high confidence you reposed in our first and greatest revolutionary character, whose pre-eminent services had entitled him to the first place in his country's love, and destined for him the fairest page in the volume of faithful history, I ask so much confidence only, as may give firmness and effect to the legal administration of your affairs. I shall often go wrong, through defect of judgment. When right, I shall often be thought wrong, by those whose positions will not command a view of the whole ground. I ask your indulgence for my own errors, which will never be intentional; and your support against the errors of others, who may condemn what they would not, if seen in all its parts. The approbation implied by your suffrage, is a great consolation to me for the past: and my future solicitude will be, to retain the good opinion of those who have bestowed it in advance, to conciliate that of others, by doing them all the good in my power, and to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom of all.

Relying, then, on the patronage of your good will, I advance with obedience to the work, ready to retire from it whenever you become sensible how much better choices it is in your power to make. And may that infinite Power, which rules the destinies of the universe, lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favorable issue, for your peace and prosperity.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

On Mr. Jefferson's administration we offer no opinion. Much has been found worthy of praise by his friends, and many acts have been condemned by his opponents. From a knowledge of his character, we are convinced, that *if* he has erred, it has been an error of his head. Even on this point, generally, it may be supposed that his own splendid talents, and extensive information, added to the assistance he may receive from the different secretaries, men undoubtedly of the first abilities, might guard him. His ideas of government are fully explained in the foregoing speech, which he has done his utmost to reduce to practice. Long may he continue a blessing to his country.]

MR. BUSHROD WASHINGTON.

THE agitation of the popular mind of America, and the circumstances which have contributed to call this young gentleman forward so immediately after the decease of his late venerable uncle the General, (of whom much has been already said, but of whom more yet remains than language can express) has induced us to transmit some information which the public will doubtless expect concerning a candidate for the exalted station of Vice President of the United States of America.

Mr. Bushrod Washington is now about thirty-five years of age, of small stature, and comely or rather handsome person, having much of that placid yet manly firmness in his countenance for which his uncle was so truly remarkable. My informant had an early and suitable opportunity of noticing and pointing out to

others, present, several traits of future greatness which were discovered in this young man's deportment, before he was publicly known to be a *Washington*. His remarkable attention to the long and interesting cause of *Vaudruil, against Randal*,* is one instance here alluded to; that remarkable trial which so greatly excited the public curiosity in Philadelphia in the year 1783.

We are particular in citing this early instance of juvenile assiduity, in as much as it applies to the basis of a character which is self existent; which has already been mistakenly tacked to family interest, and the intrigue of faction, in periodical prints; and which is very delicately placed on a more conspicuous ground of responsibility and difficulty in comparison with the exalted personage whom he was born to represent.

It is certainly saying a great deal for the man we are about to introduce, when we recite, from General Washington's will, that *unlimited confidence* which devised the family seat of *Mount Vernon*†, with the private and public papers of the inestimable testator;‡ but Mr. Washington has stronger claims than this to public patronage; he is one of those valuable citizens

* For breach of marriage, &c.

† Many people suppose General Washington to have been educated in England, but we are positively assured that he never was out of America, or the American seas. The family seat, *Mount Vernon*, in Fairfax county, Virginia, was (as we understand) named thus by an elder brother of the General's, who served in the expedition carried into the Gulph of Mexico by Admiral Vernon, and in honour to that officer. We are not certain whether the General (then young) was on that service with his brother.

‡ "Item, To my nephew Bushrod Washington, I give and bequeath all the papers in my possession, which relate to my civil and military administration of the affairs of this country: I leave to him also such of my private papers as are worth preserving; and, at the decease of my wife, and before, if she is not inclined to retain them, I give and bequeath my library of books and pamphlets of every kind."

whom society esteem for their own sakes. Nature gave him a head and heart which stood in no need of party influence; and in America, or in any other country, where men dare to be free, and to spurn the artifice of corruption, he would be *called upon* to perform the duties of some important function.

In 1783, he was a student at law in Philadelphia. At the remarkable trial which we have cited, he was one of the few of his age who were capable of a four day's fixed attention to a case (which produced laughter in others) without an unbecoming smile from Master Washington; a case, indeed, which excited many an indecorous titter from men of riper years, who should have given a more exemplary proof of their prudence. The absence of my informant, for several years afterwards, denied to him an opportunity of detailing this gentleman's progress. Suffice it to say, that he found him, on his return, distinguished in the highest practice at the bar of the Courts of Justice in Virginia; where, even, the present able Secretary of State, among others, will cheerfully surrender the palm of defence to his abilities.

The testimony of his uncle's will* is an incontrovertible evidence of his claims upon the estate at Mount Vernon, without derogating from the wisdom or justice of the donor. We do not, however, find him preying upon this claim, or courting the interest of a popular character, who, with every thing in his power, might have done any thing with honour. The self-denial of General Washington had shut his hand against family

* "And now, having gone through these specific divises, with explanations for the more correct understanding of the meaning and design of them, I proceed to the distribution of the more important parts of my estate, in manner following: First to my nephew Bushrod Washington, and his heirs (partly in consideration of an intimation to his deceased father, while we were bachelors, and he had kindly undertaken to superintend my estate during my military services, in the former war between Great Britain and France, that if I should fall therein, Mount Vernon, then less extensive in domain than at present, should become his property.) I give and bequeath, &c."

promotion, preferring only those who promised service to his country in its posts of trust and profit, without submitting to the temptations of relative respect. Independent of these we find Mr. Washington succeeding on the strength of native talents; and even this among strangers. He removed at an early period to the city of Richmond,* where he settled, and where the comforts of competency, with an amiable and exemplary wife, rendered him happy and beloved.

His truly domestic and benevolent partner for life is the daughter of a Mr. Blackburne, a gentleman of respectability, and of one of the principal families on the river Potowmac. In this instance of social connection he seems to have shared in the good fortune of his uncle. Mrs. Washington possesses a considerable portion of the social virtues of her sex, and these are said to shine most in the private circle of her family and her friends, or among such as are in need of those cheering attentions which her fortune and her economy have enabled her to dispense.

In regard to the military talents of this gentleman, it seems probable that the happy period which put an end to the American war, prevented an honourable display of them without leaving him a cause for regret. His mind is said to be far above the vain glory of offending for the sake of fame, and incapable of building up a reputation with the blood of his fellow creatures. At the siege of York, however, he very amply anticipated his uncle's desire in the use of his sword.† Born to an

* Richmond is 110 miles from Mount Vernon, and 262 miles from Philadelphia, where General Washington necessarily resided most.

† "To each of my nephews, William Augustine Washington, George Lewis, "George Steptoe Washington, Bushrod Washington, and Samuel Washington, I "give one of the swords or couteaux, of which I may die possessed; and they are to "choose in the order they are named. These swords are accompanied with an in- "junction not to unsheath them for the purpose of shedding blood, except it be for "self defence, or in defence of their country and its rights; and in the latter case, to "keep them unsheathed, and prefer falling with them in their hands to the relin- "quishment thereof."

ample fortune, nursed in the lap of indulgence, and of a delicate frame, he cheerfully submitted to the duties of a private soldier, on an active and hazardous service in the very teeth of the enemy ; he was one of a corps of young gentlemen, who went voluntarily into service under the command of Colonel Mercer (formerly aid-de-camp to General Lee), and was, on this occasion, ranked among the bravest, the most active, and vigilant of these patriotic volunteers.

From such a character, so happily connected and situated, we cannot but flatter ourselves the groveling idea of party politics will vanish ; and that, if he should be called to fill an important station in the administration of jurisprudence, the world has somewhat to expect from his abilities, his equity, his firmness, his impartiality and his moderation.

(1800.)

[The English editor appears incorrect in stating that Mr. B. Washington was a candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the U. States. He was neither taken up or voted for as such. He fills the important office of one of the Associate Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. A short time since the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, has been conferred upon him, by Princeton College, New-Jersey. *American Editors.*]

MR. EDMUND RANDOLPH.

WHEN nations which are involved in almost constant commotion and warfare can find time to contemplate a country which has hitherto preserved peace, in despite of the factions which have assailed it, and which, by this means, is rising rapidly to prosperity and power, it cannot be uninteresting to them to review the lives and prominent features which characterise those conspicuous individuals, to whom the pupils of desperate politics and party writers have ascribed the influence of an opposite European faction.

Mr. Randolph is one of those who stand highly elevated on this stumbling block of foreign error; and may be honoured, perhaps, with the ci-atlantic epithet of *a marked character.*

As it is easier, however, to stamp a mistaken impression than efface it; as a renovated opinion of the people may chance to bring men again into power, who have gone out under a temporary cloud; and as foreign interests may hinge on the pivot of conciliation; the biographical recorder of living subjects should investigate the facts he sets down with a pure and impartial eye.

Edmund Randolph, Esquire, is the only son of John Randolph, Esquire, the last Attorney General of Virginia, under the colonial jurisdiction, who espoused the royal cause, and left his native country with Lord Dunmore. They are of the family of Sir John Randolph, of honourable and respectable memory, and are understood to be his lineal descendants.

John Randolph, Esquire, the father of this gentleman, married a Miss Jennings, of Maryland, sister to a gentleman of that name, who is well known in London for his urbanity and other good qualities. By this marriage he had three children: Edmund, the gentleman whose life we are about to examine, and two sisters, (the belles of their country,) who espoused the royal cause with their father, and experienced scenes of activity and difficulty, for which that cause was greatly indebted to them.

Young Mr. Randolph dissented from the political opinion of his father, under whom he had been bred to the study of the law; and, without any collusive inducement to the political division of the family, (such as in many cases happened with a view to secure property and interest,) he peremtorily refused to accompany his father to England, and took arms in the American contest.

Thus he was, at a very early period launched into the world by his mental independence, and without any resource but his native talents.

He was shortly after admitted to the practice of the law, it is said, with some degree of indulgence in respect to his years and circumstances. He soon displayed considerable talents as a barrister; and after a satisfactory discharge of secretarial duties to the Convention of his state, and seeing a little military service in the suite of General Washington, he was called to the civil appointment of Attorney General of Virginia, which had been occupied by his father under the regal government. He, about this time, married a daughter of Robert Carter Nicholas, Esquire, late *regal* treasurer of Virginia, and a man of high and popular integrity and respect. By this lady he had several children; and he enjoyed with her, at Richmond and in its neighbourhood, all those domestic comforts to which a popular reputation, professional abilities, and a benevolent and hospitable disposition entitled him.

Thus he continued several years to hold in the capacity of Attorney General, (for which nature had particularly designed him,) an extensive practice, the confidence of his clients, and the approbation of the community.

Mr. Randolph is a man of handsome person, middle stature, pleasant countenance, genteel manners, and easy affable address. With these and other accomplished advantages, added to a merited popularity, Mr. Randolph was called by his country to fill the chair of the chief magistrate in the executive department of Virginia. After filling the dignified office of Governor, with great applause, he was elected to a seat in the legislature, where he was also a leading member.

General Washington was now elected President of the United States; and in 1790 he thought proper to appoint Mr. Randolph, Attorney General of the Federal Union. In this capacity he was equally successful as when he held the same appointment in the independent sovereignty of his native state; but it is probable that the necessary pomp of office deprived him of many comforts, for which his emoluments made very poor compensation. He supported the trust, however, with becoming dignity and eclat; and on the appointment of Mr. Secretary Jefferson to the diplomatic functions of the United States in France, he succeeded him in the office of Secretary of State, whence his negotiations with the minister of the French Republic, have more loudly announced his name in Europe.

It remains to review the history of facts, which cannot well be understood, while they remain enveloped by prejudice, and by party representation.

Mr. Randolph, it has been already observed, was the successor of Mr. Jefferson, a man of first rate abilities; who was so far from being a foil to give additional lustre to the brilliancy of Mr. Randolph's talents, that he be-

came necessarily a favourite gem of the people, exhibited in eternal contrast; and placed the satisfactory conduct of his follower at a proportionate distance.

On the fifth of December 1793, the President of the United States, by message, laid before the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, the whole of the correspondence of the United States with Mr. Hammond, Envoy from the Court of Great Britain, and with Mr. Genet, Envoy from the French Republic, concerning the differences then subsisting with their respective countries. The copies of these voluminous documents were certified by Mr. Jefferson, as Secretary of State, on the fourth day of December 1793. And on the 21st of January 1794, Mr. Randolph, as Secretary of State, transmitted a paper to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, which had been omitted by Mr. Jefferson. From hence we ascertain Mr. Randolph's promotion to that office to have taken place about the 1st of January 1794, and he was succeeded as Attorney General by Mr. Bradford, who was soon afterwards sorely afflicted with the indisposition of which he died, about the period of Mr. Randolph's resignation of this last appointment.

On his coming into office, as Secretary of State, his attention was immediately called to the protection of his country's neutrality in the conflicts of European commotion. The intrigues of Mr. Genet had found employment for his predecessor on the one hand, and the adjustments with Mr. Hammond on the subjects of the western posts, and the preliminaries of a commercial treaty, had kept him busy on the other. Both these important concerns had been reported through the official channel, at Mr. Jefferson's appointment to France; and there remained much for Mr. Randolph to finish beyond the labours of his predecessor.

A correspondence had been carried on between the Secretary of State and Governor Shelby, concerning

certain French emissaries, who had travelled to the western parts of the United States; and who were supposed to be engaged in raising a force in Kentucky, for the purpose of an incursion into the territories of Louisiana, in the dominions of the King of Spain. On this subject Governor Shelby wrote to the Secretary of State on the 13th January 1794, drawing a line of distinction between his opinion and his duty: which discrimination afforded Mr. Randolph no very discouraging prospect, had he been actually a partisan of France, as some men seem to have insinuated.

Every one knows that, at that period, Spain was in alliance with Great Britain, and that both were in the field against France, as the common enemy of monarchy. Those who wish to be satisfied how far Mr. Randolph exerted himself against the undue influence of the French emissaries in America, will do well to refer to his letter to Governor Shelby, dated Philadelphia, March 29th, 1794, which is to be found among the State Papers of the United States.

If we reason from such general principles as are contained in that letter, or from the manner and sentiments which Mr. Randolph has applied to them, there seems to be no cause to ascribe to him any other than a system of politics which is founded on the law of nations, the essence of sovereign right, and the justice due to all countries, whether monarchies or republics. Wheresoever an extraneous fact exists, he applies it uniformly to the same scale of principle by which he admeasures the concerns of its opponent; and his apparent warmth seems to be kindled on the altar of American zeal. But, at a date very shortly after this, he expresses himself in a more partial style in favour of France, and somewhat inveterately against England; the result whereof was, his resignation of the secretarial office, and a quarrel with General Washington, who had been from his youth up, one of his principal friends and benefactors.

Whether this unfortunate occurrence (possibly stimulated by diplomatic intrigue) should militate to efface his former merits; whether the circumstances with which it was clothed should go to palliate erroneous conclusions; whether the state of the times might have required the finesse of modern policy; or what degree of culpability, if any, should attach to Mr. Randolph, the public will be best able to decide, on a review of the premises which his vindication submits.

It will be recollected, that at this period, the Secretary of State was enthralled on all sides by the schemes of opposite factions, as well as by the adjustment of political difference with the respective belligerent powers. In the official negotiations with Great Britain, the retention of the western posts, the incursions of the Indian savages, the seductions of the American Negroes, his Majesty's instructions to his ships, the remembrance of a horrid civil war, and suspicious circumstances in the Pennsylvania insurrection, excited many unpleasant sensations on their necessary reviewal; while, on the other hand, the Minister of France found an ample ground for umbrage, and remonstrance in the features of the commercial treaty then on the tapis with the Cabinet of the British Monarchy; and the obligations of the public debt, and *national gratitude to France*, (which her citizens had hocus-pocused from the ledger of monarchy to the journals of an occasional democracy,) had not only been played off as powerful engines of intrigue, while in the hands of Mr. Genet, but were evidently adopted as the continued means of the *Great Nation*, though under a different modification of their system, in the hands of his successor.

While things were thus transacting, the dispatches of the French Minister to his Government, were intercepted by a British ship of war, which contained, amongst other things, certain statements implicating Mr. Randolph. Lord Grenville transmitted these to Mr. Hammond, who was then Minister from the Court

of London at Philadelphia. Mr. Hammond put them into the hands of Mr. Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States; and Mr. Wolcott laid them before General Washington, who was then President of the United States.

By the Constitution of the Federal Government, the President of the United States is invested with the entire authority of the executive department; but on General Washington's accession to this high and dignified office, he very modestly distrusted his own abilities, and adopted the expedient of calling in the advice of a Council. This he composed of the principal heads of departments; viz. the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, and the Attorney General.

This Council was called together on all the great emergencies of State; that he might not only thereby enjoy the best informed and most confidential advice of the community; but that he might be thus completely armed against any clashing of interests, or the interference of one branch with the office and concerns of another.

In the present instance, there seems to have been a new existing case, wherein his system was unavoidably mutilated, and yet it was a case of the utmost importance to the community; for no less an officer than the Secretary of State himself, seemed to be impeachable on the face of the intercepted dispatches, and he thus necessarily became excluded from the ordinary council, while the Attorney General laboured under the inconvenience of his death-bed malady. There remained only the Secretary of the Treasury, who had communed with Mr. Hammond; and the Secretary of War, who *himself* became the successor of Mr. Randolph. These two the President had convened as his ordinary council on this occasion; and they were actually engaged on the enquiry when Mr. Randolph entered the apartment, in

the course of his ordinary functions, in the capacity of Secretary of State.

" On Wednesday, the 19th of August, 1795," says Mr. Randolph in his Vindication, " I was going to the President's, as usual, at nine o'clock in the morning, when his Steward, Mr. Kidd, came to me at Mr. Rawle's, in Market-street, and informed me, that the President desired me to postpone my visit until half after ten. I supposed, at first, that he might wish to have the latest hour for writing by the southern mail of that day, or perhaps to ride out. But as I was desirous to ask him a short question, which would determine me as to the manner of executing some business, to be carried to him that morning, I enquired of Mr. Kidd if he was then occupied with any particular person, and I was answered, that the President was every moment expecting some gentlemen. Accordingly I turned to the office, and, at the appointed hour, called at the President's. I desired the servant, who attended at the door, to tell the President that I was come. But upon being informed that Mr. Wolcott and Col. Pickering had been there for some time, I went up stairs, and began to think that the Steward had committed a mistake. I supposed that a consultation with the heads of departments had been intended to be held by the President early in the day, and that it might be proper for me to explain the cause of my delay; but when I entered the President's room, he, with great formality, rose from his chair, and Messrs. Wolcott and Pickering were also marked in their efforts to a like formality. I therefore resolved to wait for the unfolding of this mysterious appearance. Very few words passed between the President and myself; and those which fell from him shewed plainly to me that he wished to hurry to something else. Immediately afterwards he put his hand into his pocket, and, pulling out a large letter, said something of this nature: " Mr Randolph! here is a letter, which I desire you to read, and " make such explanations as you choose." I took it, and found it to be a letter written in French by Mr. Fauchet, on about fifteen pages of large paper. On reading the letter, I perceived that two of the most material papers, which were called the dispatches No. 3 and 6, were not with it. I observed to the President, that I presumed the letter to be an intercepted one. He nodded his head," &c.

On this occasion, it seems, the President requested Messrs. Wolcott and Pickering to interrogate Mr. Randolph; which, although Mr. Wolcott put only one question to him, of no very material concern, so dissatisfied him, that he retired immediately to the Secretary's office, locked up his apartments in *statu quo*, delivered the key to the messenger of the department, and accompanied it with the resignation of his office.

As M. Fauchet, the French Minister, however had left Philadelphia on his way to France, and was yet unembarked at Rhode Island, Mr. Randolph set out thither immediately, in order to procure from him an explanation of certain ambiguous expressions, which seemed to attach to him a criminal construction; and, after his return from Rhode Island, he returned to his native state, Virginia, where he has resumed the profession of a lawyer with his wonted success.

It will be unnecessary to tire the public patience with Mr. Randolph's vindication, or the detail of investigation with which this transaction was accompanied. Our plan does not admit of such lengthy detail as a full illustration of this subject would demand. We are, therefore, to refer them to the American State Papers for the dispatches alluded to.

(1800.)

DR. HUGH BLAIR.

THE lives of literary men seldom abound with prominent features sufficient to arrest the attention: their biography is chiefly confined to the number and objects of their works; nevertheless the justly acquired celebrity of Dr. Blair renders an account of his life a great *desideratum* to the literary world.

Dr. Hugh Blair was born at Edinburgh, in April, 1718, at his father's house, who was a presbyterian clergyman, of worth and reputation. Their more remote descent was from the ancient family of Blair, of *Blair*, one of the most respectable in Scotland of those

which are called *gentlemen's families*, that is, families which are *noble*, though inferior to the dignity of the *peerage*. Of this family his father was a younger brother.

He was completely and regularly educated at the University of Edinburgh, where he took his degree of M. A. and entered into orders in the year 1742. The medical sciences, even before that period, had begun to be taught in that illustrious school with eminent ability and success. Pure and mixed mathematics were then recommended to students by the genius and scientific ardour of Maclauren, the friend of Newton, and the best interpreter of the Newtonian philosophy. Logic, ethics, the principles of classical and elegant literature, as well as theology, were, perhaps, explained with inferior ability and reputation. But all these last mentioned branches of knowledge had been already illustrated by great writers in the English language, whose works were admired and fondly studied by every *ingenious* scholar among the Scots. This was, indeed, the very æra at which the Scots in general first began to discard their own dialect from all their more elaborate compositions, and to aspire to write solely in pure and classical English. Arbuthnot, Thomson, Mallet, and several other natives of Scotland, whom the fortune of life carried to fix their residence in England, had distinguished themselves in the very foremost ranks of English literature: and all the studious youth of Scotland were now eagerly fixing their eyes on these great examples, and aspiring to emulate their fame. David Hume, the historian, and Henry Home, Lord Kaimes, published about this time, their earliest works. It was at this æra, too, that the Latin language began to give place to the use of the English, in the academical *prelections*, and in the mutual converse between the professors and their pupils, at all the Scottish Universities.

Blair, as was related by an old fellow-student of his, who is since dead, did not particularly distinguish him-

self during the first years of his residence in the University by any uncommon literary enthusiasm, or singularly intense application. But soon after he had entered upon the study of theology, his genius began distinctly to *unfold* itself, and to assume that peculiar bias under which it was to act in its *future* exertions. His first exercise in theology displayed an elegance of composition and a justness of taste and sentiment which excited the emulation of the most eminent among his fellow-students. Success inflamed that enthusiasm. In the farther progress of his studies, the correctness of his judgment, the refinement of his taste, the vivacity of his fancy, and the general elegance of his genius, became continually more conspicuous.

At the time when he was licensed as a preacher of the presbyterian church of Scotland, even the first discourses which he delivered in public from the pulpit, were at once reckoned to excel almost every thing of the same kind that had been hitherto heard in Scotland.

It must indeed be owned that, until Blair and some of his contemporaries arose, the style of preaching which was most prevalent in the Scottish pulpits, did not very widely differ from that of the famous *Friar Gerund*.

It was common for the Scottish clergy to value themselves upon the length, the loudness, the extemporary effusion, the mingled mysticism and vulgarity, the canting recitation of their sermons, much more than upon any of those qualities which can alone gain the approbation of rational piety and true taste. The congregations to which those sermons were addressed agreed in the estimation of their merits. A considerable share of fortitude and manliness of mind that could scorn injudicious censure or applause, was therefore requisite in the young preacher who aspired to distinguish himself by a more legitimate excellence. There was manly virtue, no less than taste and genius, in the

choice of Mr. Blair. He quickly found his reward in the approbation of all the best judges of pulpit eloquence. He was regarded as one of the rising literary ornaments of his country ; and, in the year 1742, was presented to the rural benefice of Collessie, in the county of Fife.

The ardour with which many of the Scottish clergy applied to study in their earlier years is entirely relaxed as soon as they obtain a *living* in the church. Blair's successful promotion augmented his diligence, and enlivened his desire to arise to more eminent distinction by the culture of pulpit-eloquence and polite literature. About this time he renewed and made more intimately familiar his acquaintance with the Greek and Roman classics, read, with the care of emulation, the most eloquent sermons of the divines of France and England, and endeavoured anxiously to furnish himself with a rich store of genuine English phraseology, by the diligent perusal of the writings of the classical Atterbury, Swift and Bolingbroke. But of all the helps to excellence which he now cultivated, it is probable that the most useful was his confining himself rigorously to do upon all occasions of composition and of preaching, his best; never to suffer sloth, a presumptuous confidence in his talents, nor scorn for those before whom he was to make an effort, to betray him into negligence. This honest and manly care soon became, with him, a fixed and predominant habit : and to it, more perhaps than to any thing else, is to be attributed the greatness of his subsequent success.

From Collessie he was in a short time translated to be minister of Cannongate, in the city of Edinburgh. From Cannongate he was afterwards translated successively to those other ecclesiastical charges in the city, which were accounted more easy, more honourable, or of higher emolument, till in the year 1758, he was appointed first minister of that which is called the *high church*, the most respectable clerical situation in the kingdom.

About this time he received the compliment of the degree of D. D. from the University of St. Andrew's, the oldest University in Scotland; and in the year 1761, he was created a Professor in the University, and began to read almost the first course of *Lectures upon the Principles of Literary Composition*, which were delivered in Scotland. Only Dr. Adam Smith, the celebrated author of the Wealth of Nations, had read to a respectable audience a series of discourses not very dissimilar to those of Blair upon *Rhetoric and elegant Literature*. Smith had discontinued the prosecution of this undertaking, and had been appointed to the professorship of moral philosophy in the University of Glasgow, before Blair had began to read his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* in Edinburgh. Blair's undertaking was patronised, as it deserved, by all those persons in Edinburgh who were the most eminent for science, taste, and high rank.

The celebrated Henry Home, Lord Kaimes, and David Hume, the historian, were among the most zealous of those who laboured to promote the lecturer's success. His Majesty was soon after induced to endow a professorship of rhetoric and belles lettres in the University of Edinburgh, and to nominate Blair the first professor. The number of the students who resorted to hear his lectures continually encreased. His classroom was usually crouded; and it was universally allowed that no course of lectures delivered in the University could be more beneficial to the hearers.

He from this time continued, agreeably to the general practice of the University, to deliver them every winter, for above twenty years, till, for the reasons given in the Preface to his printed Lectures, he chose to resign, and became *professor emeritus*.*

* Among many distinguished persons who failed not to attend Dr. Blair's lectures on rhetoric, was the Prince d' Aschoff, of Russia, son to that lady whose name makes a distinguished figure in the history of those intrigues which placed the late Empress

While he continued to discharge the duties of one of the ministers of the city, and professor of rhetoric and belles lettres in the University of Edinburgh, he was at length encouraged to court the suffrages of the British Public, in the character of an author. His first publication was "*A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian.*" These poems are fragments of ballads in the *Scoto-Celtic* language, and of uncertain antiquity. It is now generally believed, that Macpherson, the translator and publisher of these Fragments, must have altered them, in his publication, with a very improper and unfaithful licence, which leaves it almost impossible to distinguish what parts of his translation are genuine, and what parts forged by the pretended translator. But whatever might have been done, Blair engaged himself in the controversy, and became the avowed champion of Macpherson. Blair's dissertation simply illustrates beauties in these poems, of which the existence was never questioned, but of which the nature was never more happily explained. This Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian is, perhaps, the finest critical composition in the English language. It combines the precision and acuteness of Aristotle with the eloquence of Longinus. No critic was ever more remarkable than Dr. Blair in this Essay, the great sublime which he draws. It has passed through many editions, and is now usually prefixed to the Poems of Ossian.

In the year 1777, he published a volume of sermons, universally admired as they were delivered from the pulpit. His sermons had already become the objects of very general imitation among the younger clergy of the Scottish church. In combination with his lectures, they had begun to accomplish a general change in the character of the pulpit-eloquence of Scotland.

Catharine on the Russian throne. This young nobleman, with his mother, the Princess d' Aschoff, resided some time at Edinburgh, while the Prince went through a course of study in the University. Dr. Blair's politeness made him duly attentive to these illustrious strangers.

Blair sent the manuscript to a celebrated Bookseller of London (Mr. Strahan) who, after keeping it some time, wrote a letter to him, discouraging the publication. This is one of the many instances of the unpropitious state of the most successful books that have appeared. Mr. Strahan by some accident lent one of the sermons to Dr. Johnson for his opinion; and, after his unfavourable letter to Dr. Blair had been sent off, he received a note from Johnson, of which the following is a paragraph:

"*I have read over Dr. Blair's first sermon, with "more than approbation; to say it is good is to say too "little.*"

Very soon after this time Mr. Strahan had a conversation with Dr. Johnson concerning them, and then he very candidly wrote to Dr. Blair, enclosing Dr. Johnson's note, and agreeing to purchase the volume, for which he and Mr. Cadell gave *fifty pounds*. The sale was so rapid and extensive, and the approbation of the Public so high, as more than to gratify the Bookseller's warmest hopes of profit from it: to their honour be it recorded, they made Dr. Blair a present of fifty pounds some time after its publication.

The Public in general no sooner saw these sermons in print, than they were all of the same mind as Dr. Johnson in regard to their merit. Her Majesty having heard one of Dr. Blair's Sermons read to her by the late excellent Earl of Mansfield, the great patron of Scottish genius, was pleased to settle on the author a pension of 200*l.* sterling per annum. At the time when he retired from the discharge of the public duty of lecturer in the University of Edinburgh, an addition of 100*l.* a year was added to his pension.

The first edition was quickly sold. It became *fashionable* with all ranks, with both sexes, even with those who scarcely read any other books on the subject of

morality and religion, to read, with real or affected eagerness, the *Sermons of Blair*. New editions were rapidly multiplied. The Clergy of the Church of England were induced, in many instances, to read these discourses to their congregations from the pulpit, instead of new compositions of their own. Such success made the Bookseller solicit, with great eagerness, other sermons from Blair for publication. In compliance with these solicitations, and with the general voice of all that was respectable in public opinion, Dr. Blair published a second volume, for which he received 200*l.* copy-money. Since that time the whole sum for both these volumes was made up 500*l.*

When he proposed a third volume of sermons, the Booksellers at once offered him 600l. for the copy-right of that single volume. It is also confidently reported, that for the fourth volume he received 2000*l.* sterling. These volumes have had an astonishing success, not only in Great Britain, but all over Europe. There have been frequently surreptitious editions re-printed, in their original language, in both Ireland and America. In the French language there are two editions of them; one in the Dutch; one in the German, by Mr. Sach, Chaplain to the King of Prussia;* one in the Sclavonich, or Hungarian: and there is at this time a translation in considerable forwardness in the Italian.

About the year 1783, Dr. Blair, who was then considerably advanced in years, was, at his own desire, as before stated, permitted to retire from the exercise of his duties as Professor of rhetoric and belles lettres, but his salary was continued for life. Upon this event he began to revise and prepare his Lectures for publication

* Dr. Blair's writings have been no where more highly admired than among the Germans. The late amiable Dr. Zimmerman, whose fine work upon Solitude is universally known and admired, bestows the most impassioned praise upon the effusions of the genius of Blair, and quotes his works as models of the most perfect literary excellence.

from the press, as several imperfect copies of them, composed chiefly of notes taken by students who heard them read, were circulated; and, to prevent their being sent into the world in an imperfect or erroneous form, he was induced to publish them.

"In composing them," he says, "as a public pro-"fessor, he thought it his duty to communicate to his "pupils not only original, but useful matter." The world received them with the same eager curiosity and approbation with which they had been heard in his class-room. It was universally confessed that no language, ancient or modern, possessed among the stores of its literature, a system of critical rules and of principles for the formation and the direction of taste, at once so judicious, so comprehensive, and so faultlessly elegant. These Lectures were soon translated, like Dr. Blair's other works, into several other European languages, and re-printed in America and Ireland, as well as in Britain. They have passed through six successive editions in the hands of the original publishers. They have been abridged and extracted into a number of compilations, possessing no other merits of such utility as that which is derived from them. No work has been hitherto produced in English to supersede or rival them. They display sometimes originality, always justness of thought, without being deformed by any excess of ornament. They are written in the most ornate style that the *didactic* species of composition can legitimately employ. There is no other book which will afford a more comprehensive view to persons who are studying *to correct a bad taste, or to form a good one* for the beauties of composition or public speaking. Dr. Blair received for the copy-right from Mr. Cadell 1500*l.* sterling.

In 1796, Dr. Blair published "*The Compassionate* "*Beneficence of the Deity*," a Sermon preached before the Society instituted for the benefit of the Sons of the Clergy of the established Church of Scotland, price 1s. 6d. but since prefixed to the fourth volume of his Ser-

mons. This elegant discourse appeared with the peculiar advantage of a strong prepossession in favour of the writer. It was expected, as coming from Dr. Blair on so interesting an occasion, to be an excellent discourse: nor has the public been disappointed. The representation here given of the character of the Almighty, as the friend of the distressed, is very impressive; and unequivocal recommendation is bestowed on it when it is pronounced, that this sermon, instead of diminishing, will add additional lustre to the author's merit as an author of sermons.

Dr. Blair's character as a man is not at all inferior to the eminence of his merits as an author. He has extended his studies beyond the provinces of *theology* and *taste*. The sciences which respect material nature, have shared his attention, with those which are denominated in general the *moral sciences*. He has collected one of the best libraries, in which are the best books on every different branch of human knowledge. In conversation, he is lively, agreeable, instructive, manly, yet unassuming. His manners are polished and courteous; his temper is gentle, and his spirit beneficent and humane. He has lived in the first circles of society, and enjoyed their unbounded kindness and veneration. He has at no time in the course of his life acted the part of a turbulent, intriguing ecclesiastic. All the preferments and emoluments which he has obtained, have been the rewards of his virtues and his literary attainments alone, not the prize of ambition or of intrigue.

For some years past he has, on account of his great age, been accustomed to preach less frequently; and whenever it was previously known in the city that he was to appear in the pulpit, the church has been always crouded with eager hearers.

Kaimes, Smith, Hume, Robertson, Boswell, Fergusson, were among his literary contemporaries, and are enrolled in the long list of his friends and admirers.

He has ever been zealously ready to patronize in others those talents, that taste and learning which have raised himself to eminence. Dr. Robertson communicated all his manuscripts to his friend Blair, before he sent them to the press. When he had obtained Blair's judgment and corrections, but not till then, he accounted himself *secure* against criticism, on the side of arrangement, figures, style, and general sentiment. Indeed, no man of whatever literary eminence in Scotland, having access to Blair, has lately ventured to publish any thing without obtaining his judgment. The late celebrated Mr. Bruce, of Kinnaird, the discoverer of the Nile, asked and obtained Dr. Blair's opinion concerning the alterations and corrections requisite to be made in a second edition of his Travels, which he was then preparing for the press. Mr. Bruce's sudden death, soon after, prevented this edition from appearing.

Dr. Blair and Dr. Robertson lived in habits of great literary intimacy, and, perhaps, none ever performed more services to all those ingenuous youths around them who appeared promising or deserving. Upon the death of the latter it was the general wish that Dr. Blair should be appointed to succeed him as Principal of the University of Edinburgh. But Dr. Blair's great age made him averse from undertaking to discharge the duties of any new office. The public were universally mortified and disappointed when another, although a man of great merit, was nominated to the place.

Amid the late contention of political opinions which has been excited throughout this country in consequence of the French Revolution, Dr. Blair has continued gravely and zealously faithful to the British Constitution. His authority and influence—the authority and influence purely of personal merit, have contributed, in the most eminent manner, to maintain that spirit of generous and manly loyalty which pervades the metropolis, and indeed the whole kingdom of Scotland.

He has long been distinguished, like Milton, as a very eager reader of romances, of which the Arabian Nights Entertainments, and Don Quixotte, are among his greatest favourites. He was one of the earliest admirers of Mrs. Radcliff's talents for novel writing, and has highly recommended it: and he honoured Mr. Pratt's "Emma Corbett" with particular praise. But his reading is not confined to books of this class. His library is one of the most numerous yet select private collections in Edinburgh. Narratives of voyages and travels, the best editions of the Greek and Roman classics, the most eloquent and instructive performances in the French, Italian, and English languages, are the books with which it is chiefly filled.

In the course of Dr. Blair's literary life, he has frequently visited London, and mingled in the literary circles of that great city. He was introduced to the personal acquaintance of the late Dr. Samuel Johnson.

In conversation Blair has never affected the praise of a *wit*, or a disputant. He has never been engaged in any literary quarrels. Scarcely ever had any man of such distinguished eminence fewer enemies. It has been his care never to shew his *mind* otherwise than in *full dress*, or in a handsome *deshabille*, adjusted with all the care and decorum of full dress. *Propriety* and *delicate correctness* preside over his social and convivial manners just as much as over his writings. Now in the eighty-second year of his age, he still enjoys all the primary vigour of his faculties unimpaired; and enjoys a state of health still equal to the duties of life and the pleasures of social converse. His fortune has long been, comparatively speaking, very ample: he is enabled to keep his carriage, and to live, in every other respect, in a similar style of expence. An only daughter, of great accomplishments, was taken away from him by a fever, in the very flower of her youth and beauty. Mrs. Blair, a very excellent and amiable woman, who was nearly about the same age with her husband, died a few years

since. Moderation, discretion, assiduity, chearfulness, benignity, uprightness, fervent and rational piety, a sensibility to honourable and deserved applause that makes him enjoy, yet without vanity or undue exultation, that fame which has so justly crowned his merits, are the most remarkable qualities of his character. He is reverenced as the ornament, the pride of the city in which he dwells, of his country on which he has reflected so much literary glory. When Providence shall remove him to a better world, as his life has long proved itself a national blessing, so his death will be lamented as a public calamity.

(1800.)

SIR JOSEPH BANKS.

SIR JOSEPH BANKS is said to have his descent from a noble Swedish family. His paternal grandfather was the first of his ancestors in that line who settled in England. His grandfather acquired an ample fortune by the reputable practice of an honourable profession. His father, a very estimable country gentleman, resided chiefly on his estate in Lincolnshire.

Sir Joseph was born about the year 1740. After a suitable preparatory education, he was sent to study at the University of Oxford. In every branch of liberal knowledge he made distinguished proficiency. Natural history in particular engaged his fondest attachment: and he conceived, at a very early age, an ardent ambi-

tion to promote the advancement of this great science, by those eminent exertions of which united genius, fortune, and industry are alone capable.

Genius usually receives its early bias from some circumstances in the general character of the age, and some in the particular condition of the person to whom it belongs. Natural history was succeeding, about the time when Sir Joseph Banks began conspicuously to cultivate it, to much of that transcendent popularity among the learned which natural philosophy had, for the last hundred years, almost exclusively possessed. Linnæus had produced for it an arrangement and a nomenclature, forming perhaps one of the most ingenious and elaborate philosophical systems which the world had seen. His pupils were travelling as naturalists into every region of the earth, with an ardour not less zealous and intrepid than if they had gone to propagate a new religion, or to rifle the treasures of Mexican monarchs. In France, De Buffon was already beginning to exhibit a combination of natural history, eloquence, and fashionable curiosity, which, though not yet produced into general fame, was, in a considerable degree, the admiration of a court and a great city, and was sufficiently known in England to have gained the attention of Sir Joseph Banks. Collections of the specimens of natural history had been formed in England, in different places, and at a great expence, which, while they were eagerly consulted by every man of science, were praised with a grateful warmth that might well encourage young men of fortune to seek the same approbation by the same means.———The curiosity of naturalists was turned towards the New World, as containing ample treasures much less known and more peculiar than those which remained to be explored in the old. Barbadoes, Jamaica, Virginia, had been illustrated by the labours of English naturalists, with a success sufficient to excite others to rival, by similar undertakings, the praise which these had gained. A new reign had auspiciously commenced, in which it seemed probable that science, learning,

and, in particular, natural history, and distant discovery, would long be in honour at court. To go the narrow round of the common fashionable tour—could appear but miserably trifling to a young man whose mind glowed with the love of ingenious enterprise, and of the knowledge of nature: *tædet harum quotidianarum formarum.* To explore scenes till now unknown; to contemplate the beauty and majesty of nature where these had not yet been violated by art; to cultivate the most manly qualities of the human character in the true school for intrepidity, presence of mind, enlargement of imagination, and hardy vigour of bodily constitution;—— this was a plan of travel worthy of the desire and the contrivance of virtue and genius.

With views probably in some such manner suggested to his mind, Sir Joseph Banks upon leaving the University of Oxford, in the year 1763, went on a voyage across the Atlantic, to the coasts of Newfoundland and Labradore. That voyage was not without its difficulties and dangers. But it afforded a rich compensation for these, in the new knowledge with which it filled his mind, and in those curiosities of natural history which it enabled him to collect.

The spirit of naval discovery so eminently encouraged since the commencement of the present reign, soon presented a new opportunity by which this gentleman was engaged in a more distant and laborious voyage than that in which he made his first adventure of scientific enquiry.

Anson's voyage was a great military enterprise, intended to ruin the Spanish settlements on the coasts of South America, and to bring away the spoils of their trade. It failed of accomplishing its primary objects, but suggested new schemes for their future accomplishment. From the time at which the events of that voyage became known in England, the attentions of the British Nation and Government were turned towards the Pa-

cific Ocean, with views at once of political aggrandizement, and of useful scientific discovery. It was late ere the Spaniards took a part in the war of 1756: and peace was concluded before the British fleets had occasion to pursue the Spanish trade into the South Seas. But that peace afforded opportunity for reviving the schemes suggested by Anson. A settlement was attempted on Falkland's Islands; and voyagers were sent to explore whether there might not be a great continent stretching away toward the southern pole. In the years 1764, and 1765, and 1766, Commodore Byron with the ships the Dolphin and the Tamar, accomplished a voyage round the globe, in the course of which he advanced to a comparatively high southern latitude, and opened an interesting path for farther discovery. The account of his voyage served but to kindle new curiosity, and to encourage new hopes. Within little more than a month after his return, Captain Wallis was sent out in the Dolphin, to prosecute the discoveries which Byron had begun. Wallis, after greatly extending the track of discovery in the South Seas, returned safe to England in 1768. Captain Carteret, who had been sent out in the Swallow sloop to accompany Wallis, was separated from him in the course of the voyage, encountered many hardships, made new discoveries in higher latitudes, and arrived not in England till the month of March, 1769. Immediately after the return of Wallis, it was resolved to send out Lieutenant Cook, both to pursue still farther the discoveries which had been already made in the South Seas, and, for the benefit of astronomy and of all the arts dependent upon it, to observe, in the latitude of Otaheite, an expected transit of the planet Venus over the Sun. In this voyage Sir Joseph Banks resolved to sail with Cook. His liberal spirit and generous curiosity were regarded with admiration: and every convenience from the Government was readily supplied, to render the circumstances of the voyage as little unpleasant to him as possible.

Far, however, from soliciting any accommodation that might occasion expence to Government, he was

ready to contribute largely out of his own private fortune, towards the general purposes of the expedition. He engaged as his director in natural history, during the voyage, and as the companion of his researches, Dr. Solander, of the British Museum, a Swede by birth, and one of the most eminent pupils of Linnæus, whose scientific merits had been his chief recommendation to patronage in England. He took with him also two draughtsmen, one to delineate views and figures, the other to paint subjects of natural history. A secretary and four servants formed the rest of his suite. He took care to provide, likewise, the necessary instruments for his intended observations, with conveniencies for preserving such specimens as he might collect of natural or artificial objects, and with stores to be distributed in the remote isles he was going to visit, for the improvement of the condition of savage life.

On the 26th of August, 1768, the Endeavour sailed from Plymouth on this great expedition. Lieutenant Cook was commander; but Sir Joseph Banks went in circumstances which made it improbable that he should be subjected to any disagreeable controul. No unfortunate accidents occurred in the early course of the voyage. Even in the passage to Madeira, Sir Joseph and his companion discovered many marine animals which no naturalist had as yet described. At Madeira, and as they sailed on to Rio Janeiro, their vigilance was still eagerly awake, and was sufficiently gratified by observations and specimens new to science. The jealousy of the Portuguese greatly disappointed their curiosity, by forbidding those researches at Rio Janeiro, of the fruits of which they had conceived very high hopes. On the coast of Terra del Fuego, in an excursion to view the natural productions of the country, Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. Solander had nearly perished by a storm of snow. With extreme difficulty, with the loss of three of the persons who had accompanied them, and after passing a night on land amidst the storm, in worse than the agonies of death, they at last made their

way back to the beach, and were received on board the ship.

On Wednesday, April 12th, 1769, the Endeavour arrived at Otaheite. For three months, the voyagers continued at this and the smaller contiguous isles; refreshing themselves after their late hardships; making those astronomical observations, for the sake chiefly of which Lieutenant Cook was sent out; cultivating the friendship of the natives; laying in stores of fresh provisions; surveying, as navigators, the coasts of the different isles; collecting specimens of the natural productions peculiar to them; studying the language, manners, and arts of the islanders; and refitting the ship for the farther prosecution of the voyage.

At Otaheite, Sir Joseph Banks, by the prudence, benignity, vigilance, and spirited activity which he eminently exercised in the intercourse with its inhabitants, contributed in the most essential manner to prevent dissensions and disorder, and to promote that mutual harmony between those good people and the English, which was indispensibly requisite to prevent the chief purposes of the voyage from being frustrated. His conduct was that, not merely of a raw, adventurous young man, or of a naturalist unfit for aught but collecting specimens,—but of a man who knew himself and human nature, and possessed, in a high degree, the talent of beneficially guiding the designs and controuling the passions of others. The specimens of natural history which he and his companions collected at these isles, were very numerous and interesting.

On the 15th of August, 1769, the Endeavour sailed from Oteroah, the last isle of this groupe, which they visited. On the 6th of October they descried New Zealand, which had not been seen by any former navigator but Tasman. An Otaheitean priest of the name of Tupia, who had voluntarily accompanied them from that isle, acted as interpreter between them and the in-

habitants on this new coast, who spoke his native language. The whole coasts of the two isles forming that which is called New Zealand, were circumnavigated and diligently surveyed: the streight between them was carefully explored: much pains was employed in attempting a friendly intercourse with the inhabitants. The acquisitions in natural and artificial curiosities which Sir Joseph Banks here made, were also numerous. Although the plants and animals were less various than, for such an extent of country, might have been expected; yet the specimens were comparatively many, which were worthy of being admitted in the collection of the naturalist.

From New Zealand, they pursued their voyage to New Holland. They sailed northward along its coast to Botany Bay, which owes its name to the rich treasures of botanical objects that it was found to afford. New species in zoology were likewise observed on the same shores. Distant excursions into the interior country disposed them to regard it as a scene that might prove exceedingly favourable for colonial settlement. The voyage was continued along the eastern coast of that great territory: and to the track adjacent was given the name of New South Wales. As they advanced, the ship struck upon a rock; an opening was made in her bottom: they were in extreme danger of perishing at sea, and escaped but as by maricle. In every situation, Sir Joseph Banks was still distinguished by uncommon firmness and presence of mind. At the mouth of a river which they named after their ship, Endeavour, they repaired, in the best manner they could, the damage which the vessel had suffered. In the reparation, (such were the continual difficulties of this scientific enterprise:) the position of the ship occasioned a sudden admittance of water, by which a part of Sir Joseph Banks's collection of specimens was entirely spoiled,—and even the rest were not saved without the greatest anxiety and trouble. As the company continued to advance northward along the coast, many shells and marine

productions of unknown species, were gathered, in occasional visits to the shore. The discovery of the Kangoroo enabled them to offer an interesting addition to the natural history of quadrupeds. No opportunity was neglected of making new astronomical observations. On 23d of August, 1770, they left this coast, and steered for New Guinea.

The rest of their voyage was through known seas, and among isles which other European navigators had before visited and described. The noxious climate of Batavia afflicted a number of them, during their necessary stay there, with severe disease. Tupia, the priest from Otaheite, died of an ague; and his boy, Tayeto, of an inflammation of the lungs. Sir Joseph Banks himself and Dr. Solander were for some time exceedingly ill. Every person belonging to the ship was sick during their stay at this place, except the sail-maker, an old man, between seventy and eighty years of age, who got drunk every day. Seven died at Batavia; three and twenty more, in the course of the next six weeks after the departure of the ship from that harbour. On Wednesday the 12 of June, 1771, the survivors brought the vessel to anchor in the Downs, and came ashore at Deal.

Sir Joseph Banks was received in England with eager admiration and kindness. The designs with which he had gone on the voyage; the prudence, fortitude, and vigilant activity he had exercised in the course of it; the perils through which he had passed; the invaluable information recorded in his journals; and the specimens, before unknown, which he brought, at so much risk and expence, to enrich the science of natural history; deemed to set him greatly above almost every other young man of rank and fortune in the age, both for personal qualities, and as a benefactor to mankind. At court, among men of science and literature, at home, and abroad, he was equally honoured. A new expedition of discovery was soon after sent out, in

which he at first wished to embark, though he was afterwards induced to decline it. But his directions and assistance were not withheld, so far as these could promote the success and usefulness of the voyage.

Iceland was said to contain many natural curiosities, highly worthy of the inspection of one whose love of nature had led him to circumnavigate the globe. Sir Joseph Banks therefore hired a vessel, and went, in company with his friend Dr. Solander, to visit that isle. The Hebudæ, those celebrated islets scattered along the north west coast of Scotland, were contiguous to the track of the voyage: and these adventurous naturalists were induced to examine them. Among other things worthy of notice, they discovered the columnar stratification of the rocks surrounding the caves of Staffa; a phenomenon till then unobserved by naturalists, but which was no sooner made known, in a description by Sir Joseph Banks, than it became famous among men of science throughout Europe. The volcanic mountain, the hot springs, the siliceous rocks, the arctic plants and animals of Iceland, with all its other native productions, were carefully surveyed in this voyage. A rich harvest of new knowledge and new specimens compensated for its toils and expence. Dr. Von Troil, if I mistake not, a Danish clergyman of great merit, was a companion in this philosophical adventure, and was thus, by the beneficence of Sir Joseph Banks, enabled to make communications to the Danish Government, of which they afterwards availed themselves for the improvement of the condition of the isle.

After his return from Iceland, Sir Joseph passed his time for some years chiefly in London, or at his seat in Lincolnshire. He associated with men of letters, and with persons of rank and fashion; corresponded with eminent naturalists and with other philosophers in almost every different country in Europe, and even in more distant parts of the world; assisted at the meet-

ings of the Royal Society; continually augmented his collections of the subjects of natural history, and of books and drawings illustrative of this science; and zealously endeavoured to raise his pursuits to their true dignity, by suggesting and exemplifying their application to many of the most important uses of life. It appeared that his time and fortune were still to be unwearyedly devoted to those great purposes of scientific beneficence, in the ardent promoting of which he had distinguished his early youth.

When, in the end of the year 1777, Sir John Pringle retired from the Presidency of the Royal Society, the best friends of that Institution did not think that they could promote its dignity and usefulness by any other means so well as by procuring the election of Sir Joseph Banks to fill the vacant chair. The honour was just such an one as a philosopher, who was at the same time a man of rank and fortune, might, with laudable ambition, desire. Rank and fortune, which should give leisure for the duties of this office, and should support a style of living, and an intercourse with the great sufficient to do it honour; a freedom from those cares of avarice and ambition, which never fail to extinguish the love of science in the breast; eminent proficiency in all the sciences, but especially in those which are the most useful and the most industriously cultivated; at least some portion of skill in the management of mankind,—courteousness to win, dignity of manners to maintain authority, ability and ingenuous dispositions to represent the majesty, the impartiality, and the candour of SCIENCE *herself*:—these were the qualities and exterior advantages which it was to be wished that a President of the Royal Society of London should conspicuously possess. But, it cannot be denied, that, if the best judges were desired to single out him in whom there appeared the most eminent union of those qualities, they would not easily avoid fixing upon Sir Joseph Banks. It was about this period that he was promoted to the rank of Baronet.

The origin of the Society over which Sir Joseph now presided, was almost coeval with that of true natural philosophy itself. The meetings of the poets in the Arcadia at Rome, of the artists at Florence, of the grammarians and critics in the French Academy at Paris, were almost the only modern associations for the improvement of science or elegant art, previous to the institution of the ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON. The necessity for such an Institution had been sensibly felt among the learned in England, a considerable time before it was actually formed. Bacon sufficiently pointed out this necessity, when he sketched the outline of possible human knowledge, and explained in what manner that outline was to be filled up, by the accumulated observations and experiments of philosophers of different countries and succeeding ages. Cowley marked, with tolerable distinctness, a plan for such a Society. That scheme for the instruction of youth in physical knowledge which Milton proposes in his Treatise inscribed to Hartlib, had evidently its rise in his mind from principles akin to those upon which the Royal Society was to be soon after founded. Under the usurpation of Cromwell, when the studies which respected religion and the business of civil life were under discouragement, and in some sort of disrepute, men of learning, at Oxford and in London, were led to devote their leisure rather to physical investigations, which they might pursue in quiet, without offending the zeal of their neighbours, or alarming the jealousy of usurpers whose power they could not yet overthrow. It was reserved for the æra of the restoration of Charles the Second, to be also that of the establishment of a Royal Society in England, for the improvement of physical and mathematical knowledge, both in its general principles and in the immediate application of these to the uses of life.

The avowed object of the institution of this Society, was,—by the joint labours of all its members, to perfect all the physical and mathematical sciences,—to acquire a knowledge of all the processes of art which were ei-

ther kept secret by their inventors at home, or, though public, peculiar to foreign countries, and in England unknown,—to procure accurate descriptions of the objects and changes in nature,—and, by all these means, to enlarge as much as possible the range of human intelligence, and to exalt the dignity and happiness of mortal life. The Institution had its rise from the joint endeavours of some men of learning and a few men of rank. But, in its formal establishment, they earnestly invited persons of all employments and condition, free from moral dishonour, to associate with them in its pursuits, and to bring each his peculiar knowledge, and the fruits of his experiments, observations and enquiries, into that common fund of art and science, which was destined for the general benefit first of Englishmen, and then of all mankind.

Charles the Second was not merely its nominal founder and patron, but one of its most zealous and active members. Historians have generally overlooked, or at least but slightly noticed, this part of Charles' character. Yet he performed many experiments himself; he suggested and directed others; he did not trifle in philosophy, like an idle or weak-minded virtuoso, but earnestly directed his experiments to the best uses in the naval and military arts, and to other purposes of life. Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, was likewise one of the members of this Society, at the time of its institution. A part of that money which satire has represented him to have wasted on vain projects of alchemy, was in truth expended upon rational and beneficial experiments for the advancement of true philosophy.

The views of the founders of the Royal Society were indeed grand, and their exertions great and various, beyond those of any other association of philosophers that the world has seen. They eagerly received the communications of their fellows and correspondents. They considered what were the desiderata in the different branches of art and science, and instituted experi-

ments, and set on foot enquiries, that those might be supplied. Some of their series of experiments were performed in the presence of the whole Society at its ordinary meetings; some were entrusted to special Committees; others were zealously undertaken by particular individuals. Their enquiries were extended, with the aid of the Government, to all parts of the world. They earnestly purchased some of the secrets of art, of which the communication was not to be otherwise obtained. They strove to procure faithful descriptions of whatever manipulations of art had not, though in common practice been as yet clearly explained in any written document. All the phenomena of Nature engaged their eager observation. In chemistry, HOOKE, one of their number, discovered that theory of combustion, and of the specific differences of airs, which has been lately revived by Lavoisier and his disciples. A series of experiments uncommonly ingenious and well imagined, were performed in the presence of the Society, to evince the truth of the theory: and nothing, as it should seem, but its strong contrariety to vulgar observation, and the fashionable preference of the mechanical philosophy, could have hindered it from being then adopted as indisputable science. Several other branches of physics were, about the same time as it were, created by their exertions: And the best improvements of agriculture, of gardening, and of all the arts of manufacture in England, are to be dated from the time when the Royal Society began to establish the necessary intercourse between science and art. The mathematical and physical researches of those great men cannot be denied to have led Newton directly to the discoveries of gravitation, of fluxions, and of the analysis of light.

In the subsequent exertions of these philosophers, there may have been an occasional diminution of that first enthusiasm. But how many of the most interesting phenomena of Nature have been registered in their journals? What great improvements has any branch of art or science experienced, which have not either origi-

nated, or at least derived their chief authority, from the efforts of this society? They prosecuted the researches of Newton, till they confirmed his system by facts, in those parts of it which he had been obliged to leave unsupported but by analogy. A great number of the most important facts in natural history have been by them first observed and made known. The volumes of their transactions contain many of the best mathematical papers which the eighteenth century has produced. The physiology of both animal and vegetable life has been remarkably illustrated by the success of their enquiries. The later researches concerning the nature and the differences of airs had their beginning among the members of this society. The greater part of the experiments and discoveries concerning electricity were made by them. Among the academies and societies of later institution throughout Europe, none has produced a series of memoirs, more truly valuable than the collection of the transactions of the Royal Society of London.

Sir Joseph Banks entered, in the year 1778, upon the duties of the office of President of this society. He devoted himself with the most successful zeal to the faithful discharge of them. His attentions had the happy effect of procuring communications in the highest degree interesting and important, which, but for his cares, might not have been made known to the society, in the first instance—and of engaging various persons of high rank and eminent abilities to solicit the honour of being received as fellows, who, under another President might not perhaps have been equally desirous to mingle in this company of philosophers. The zeal and assiduity with which he did his duty, had a happy effect, in exciting the members in general to extraordinary diligence and activity in the proper pursuits of the society. The election to the office is annual: but the fellows thought themselves too fortunate in a such a President, hastily to think of changing him when the terms of re-election returned. For the first three or four years of his Presidency, all went on in harmony, and with extraordinary

advantages to science. There are few periods of not more than equal duration, since the origin of the Royal Society, in which so many valuable papers have been read at its meetings.

But, notwithstanding the zeal, assiduity, and impartiality with which Sir Joseph Banks devoted himself to the duties of his office; notwithstanding the general success of his cares; discontents began to arise against him, even among the most eminent members of the Society. A variety of complaints, *the fruit merely of misunderstanding and prejudice*, were industriously suggested in regard to his conduct in the Presidency. "It was said, that Science herself had never been more signally insulted than by the elevation of a mere *amateur*, to occupy the chair once filled by Newton. It was alledged, that he dishonoured the Society, by introducing into the management of its affairs, the low intrigues, the unmanly calumnies, the whispering artifices of a weak and corrupted Court, or of a scene of wretched political cabal. It was affirmed, that he strove, by various arts, to arrogate to himself exclusively the power of introducing new members into the Society; and by this means to fill it with ignorant and trifling men of wealth and rank; while the *inventor* in art, the *discoverer* in science, the *teacher of knowledge*, whose lessons could confer on every understanding new powers of keen and rapid intelligence, were to be driven away with scorn, because they might happen to be schoolmasters, tradesmen, country physicians, or persons exercising as men of letters, an influence above all others, the most beneficent and important over the tides of human knowledge and the course of public opinion. It was urged, in a tone of mingled indignation and sorrow, that his hostility to mathematical science threatened to bring it into discredit and neglect in the Society, over which he was suffered to preside; and that foreigners would hence be allowed to snatch away from Englishmen, that palm of mathematical excellence which had been theirs ever since the discovery of fluxions by New-

ton. It was sarcastically observed, that he possessed no scientific merits, but such as depended merely on *bodily labour* and the *expenditure of money*. It was said, that he affected to be the despot of the Society, without having any thing of that genuine superiority of science and talents, which might indeed have invested him with effective despotism."

But, however respectable the persons from whom these complaints were suggested, however deep and general the impression which they made, though it be not unlikely that they may even descend with aggravation to posterity ;——they were nevertheless EXCEEDINGLY UNJUST.

The Government of the Society is, by the President and a Council, annually elected. They are, however, accountable for their official conduct to the electors : and, under certain regulations, any piece of business may be brought under the immediate cognizance of the whole Society. Sir Joseph Banks, when he devoted his time and attention to the duties of the Presidency, naturally resolved to exercise also its just constitutional powers. But he found the secretaries, who had been already some time in office, and with them others of the most assiduous and active of the old members, willing to exercise over the proceedings of the Society, an irregular authority, such as, it seemed, if tamely submitted to, would throw the Society's affairs into confusion, and reduce the President to a mere cypher. They were worthy men ; and their inclination to rule was sufficiently natural : but it was evident that the President would fail in his duty, if he did not render his just authority decisively efficient.

Besides, it had been for some time commonly suggested, among philosophers on the continent, that the candid and liberal spirit of science prevailed to excess, in hindering the Royal Society of London from objecting to almost any person, however unfit, who should,

with the offer of the usual pecuniary contribution, ask admission into their fellowship. D'Alembert, used gaily to ask any of his acquaintance coming to England —if they wished to become members of the Royal Society? and to intimate slightingly, that, if they thought it an honour, he could easily obtain it for them. Even at home, the facility with which this honour was ordinarily granted, might seem to be fast bringing it into a certain degree of contempt. Sir Joseph Banks, therefore, with wise and zealous attention to the true interests of the Society, resolved to use every just and honourable precaution to hinder the honours of its fellowship from being, in future, too lavishly prostituted. The *first* principle which he thought proper to adopt with a view to this end, was, *that all persons of fair moral character, and decent manners, who had eminently distinguished themselves by discoveries or inventions of high importance in any of those branches of art or science, which it was the express object of the Society to cultivate, ought* (whatever their condition in life) *to be gladly received among its members.* But, in the next place, he was of opinion, that, *of those who were merely lovers of art or science, and had made no remarkably ingenious contributions to their improvement, none ought to be hastily received into the Royal Society, whose rank and fortune were not such as to reflect on that Society and its pursuits a degree of new splendor, as well as to endow them with the means of promoting its views, on fit occasions, by extraordinary expence.* It will not be easy to shew, that these principles were not the best which a President of the Royal Society could adopt for the maintenance of its dignity and usefulness. It is impossible to deny, that, by these, in regard to the admission of new members, has the conduct of Sir Joseph Banks been ever chiefly regulated.

Another consideration, too, of still greater delicacy, had, perhaps, no small effect on the conduct of the President, in respect to the admission of new members into

the Society. The spurious philosophy of the theorists, the atheists, the innovators delighting in mere change, without regard to its consequences, the self-conceited *esprits forts*, and the dreamers of extravagant impossibilities as to the coming age,—was at this time, even throughout Europe, mustering its disciples, recruiting its numbers, and aspiring every where to interrupt, by their efforts, the progress of genuine science, and to disturb the order of civil life.——The sagacity of Sir Joseph Banks could not but discern the rising mischief. It was his duty to preserve the Royal Society from its intrusion. He became, therefore, anxious to prevent the reception of any of the disciples of that false philosophy into the fellowship of the society. There was, perhaps, no one service which he could perform to it, so truly important.—Yet, it cannot appear surprising, that in the discharge of an office of so great delicacy, offence should have been, at times, involuntarily given, *even to men of real worth and talents.*

At length, the mutual discontents, owing to these causes, arose to such a height between the President and a number of the members of the Royal Society, that they could not but break out into open dissention in the course of its proceedings. Dr. Hutton, a philosopher of great personal worth, and the most eminent talents, was reduced to the necessity of resigning the office of Foreign Secretary to the Society. His friends regretted that necessity, and scrupled not to ascribe it to disingenuous practices by the President. The President's conduct in the matter was, on the other hand, justified by those who were attached to him. Every cause of mutual dissatisfaction was, upon this, roused into sudden, keen, and open activity. Dr. Hutton was accused of having neglected the duties of his office. He explained and defended his conduct; and a vote of the Society fully approved his defence.

Those who were hostile to the President, thought that this approbation was to them a triumph. The Pre-

sident could not avoid seeing that, while considered in this light, it must essentially impair the energy of his official authority. He was reduced to the necessity of either relinquishing his office in disgrace, or else obtaining such support as should effectually humble the exultation of the malcontents. On the evening of the 8th of January, 1784, the resolution, "*that this Society do approve of Sir Joseph Banks for their President, and will support him*," was moved, in a very full meeting of the Society, by Sir Joseph's friends. It was strenuously opposed by those to whom he had given cause of dissatisfaction. A long and earnest debate ensued. Dr. Horsley, in particular, having been interrupted in a speech of great force of argument and fullness of detail,——and being farther exasperated by a suggestion from Lord Mulgrave,—arose, and with that eloquence which true genius knows how to pour forth, when it is animated, yet not maddened by passion,—intimated a threat, that he and his friends, if disrespectfully treated by the supporters of Sir Joseph Banks, might probably SECEDE, and form a rival Society.——"Sir," said he, in concluding, "we shall have one remedy in "our power, if all others fail.——If other remedies "should fail, we can, at last, SECEDE. Sir, when "the hour of secession comes, the President will be "left, with his train of feeble *amateurs*, and that toy* "upon the table,—the GHOST of that Society, in which "philosophy once reigned, and Newton presided as "her minister!"

Who can produce from the pages of Demosthenes, of Tully, or of Rousseau, an effusion of eloquence, more apposite to its particular purpose, or breathing a a loftier tone of indignant vehemence and sublimity. Even this eloquence, however, had not power to make the Society forget how much it owed to the services of Sir Joseph Banks. The motion, which had been made in his favour, was, by a great majority, adopted, as the common voice of the Society.

* Pointing to the mace.

But the candour of Sir Joseph's mind,—and perhaps also Dr. Horsley's threats of secession,—led the victorious party to avoid all provoking exultation. The minority were encouraged by this moderation of the President and his friends, to demand that Dr. Hutton should be restored to the office of Foreign Secretary. To have made this concession, would have again dishonoured the President in the eyes of the Society. It was, therefore, refused. Yet, in the debate which it occasioned, it sufficiently appeared,—both that Dr. Hutton had done nothing to forfeit the confidence and esteem of the Society, as their Foreign Secretary,—and that it would be more convenient to have in this office, a gentleman constantly resident in London, and cordially at peace with the President. These disputes here ended; and most of those who had been concerned in them, soon regretted that they had ever arisen.

The Society returned, with new zeal and unanimity, to the prosecution of their proper labours. Sir Joseph Banks could not become more warmly the friend of science than he had been before. But forgetting every thing in the late contentions that was addressed with asperity against himself, he now took much pains to soothe, for the sake of the Society's interests, the prejudices of those who had set themselves in opposition to him; and endeavoured, not unsuccessfully, that, except the generous emulation of useful invention and discovery, no divisive sentiment should ever again be known among this company of philosophers, while he was their President. Even amidst the many rival societies in the British empire, and throughout Europe, the Royal Society of London has been, ever since, rising in the public estimation. Its volumes of transactions, regularly published, have been filled with *memoirs*, exhibiting the best methods of analytical and inductive investigation in almost every department of physical science, and bringing to light a multitude of discoveries of the highest importance, both as enlarging the sphere of knowledge, and as increasing the active powers of art. The

names which have been within this period, added to the list of its members are, undeniably, among the most illustrious of which philosophers can boast. Foreigners find that honorary admission into this Society is open only to transcendent scientific merit. Those parts of mathematical science, upon which depends the perfecting of astronomy and navigation, the forming of canals and bridges, and the construction of mill-machinery, have been cultivated by members of the Society, with a diligence and success not exceeded by either their predecessors at home, or their contemporaries abroad. The communications in anatomy, chemistry, and the physiology of animals and vegetables, are absolutely invaluable. How many precious additions to natural history, in its various branches, have they not supplied,—even though delicacy may perhaps have rendered the President somewhat less willing to admit many papers on that which was known to be his favourite study, than on any of those parts of science to which he was supposed to be not equally partial. It will not be denied, that, since Sir Isaac Newton presided in the Royal Society, a fairer æra has not occurred in its history, than especially the latter part of the presidency of Sir Joseph Banks. Had it been an office with an income of ten thousand pounds a year attached to it, he could not have more assiduously devoted himself to its duties.

It is not merely in presiding at its meetings, and directing the transactions of its business in the council, that Sir Joseph Banks has made himself so eminently the benefactor of the Royal Society. His house has been, for many years, a scene of hospitality and gracious kindness, inviting the common resort of men of science from all parts of the world. Every *Sunday* evening, during the time of the sessions of Parliament, and the ordinary meetings of the Royal Society, his apartments are open to his scientific friends, and to strangers of fair character, decent appearance, and gentlemanly manners, who are properly introduced to him. The friends of science of all ranks, from the highest to

the lowest which excludes not virtue and enlightened intelligence, here assemble with eagerness. The most elegant and interesting conversations take place. The discoveries, the enquiries, the new information from testimony, which every one of these friends of science is engaged upon, has accomplished, or has recently heard, are mutually communicated. Men of liberal enquiry from every different country in which science is known, are occasionally to be met with in that assembly; and few things are any where done towards the improvement of art or science, of which the earliest news may not be there learned. It rarely happens, that some new curiosity from among the specimens of nature or ingenious art, does not appear on the tables, to engage the inspection of those to whom it may suggest new and useful discovery. For the same purpose, his library and his collection of specimens are open to the use of all whose studies and manners render them not unworthy of the favour. A *catalogue* of the books illustrative of natural history, which are in this library, has been, within these few years, printed. It fills even four octavo volumes. Scarcely a book, of any use or authority in natural history, is wanting in it.*

Almost all the voyages of discovery, and the travels with the same view, which have been undertaken within these last five-and-twenty years, by natives of England, have been more or less promoted by the encouragement and instructions of Sir Joseph Banks. The AFRICAN ASSOCIATION owes its origin, in a great degree, to his cares. Ledyard, Lucas, and Houghton, were by him chiefly patronized and intsructed for their journies. The worthy and ingenious Mr. Mungo Parke, whose late travels have so considerably rectified and enlarged our knowledge of the interior parts of Africa, was sent out on his journey with Sir Joseph's approbation; was re-

* We obſerve, with much concern and regret, that, from the title-page to the end, this catalogue abounds in instances of incorrect Latinity, and in remarkable errors in bibliographical erudition. *Knight of the Bath* is with a very gross Anglicism, translated *Balnei Equitis!*

ceived by him with great favour, when he returned to gratify his patrons with the ingenuous and interesting narrative of the dangers through which he had passed, and the observations he had made; and owes to Sir Joseph's generous interposition, much of that success with which the account of his journey has been published, and not a little of that liberal compensation which has enabled him to retire to love and competence near his native village. That the culture of the bread-fruit-tree has been successfully introduced into our West India isles; that the colony in New South Wales has been reared to its present prosperity; that the natural history of the great territory of New Holland is continually more and more explored; that even amidst the wars which now desolate the earth, the general commerce of men of learning and science is not entirely interrupted; are so many benefits, for which the warmest gratitude of philanthopy and science is due to Sir Joseph Banks. We cannot but hope, that, ere many more years shall pass, he may have the pleasure of seeing his exertions in the African Associations crowned with complete success, by the opening up of all the interior parts of that vast peninsula, to geography, to commerce, and to philosophical research. Even those who have lately been entertained or instructed, whether in France, Germany, or Britain, by Labillardier's account of D'Entrecasteaux's voyage in search of La Pérouse, owe thanks to Sir Joseph for the gratification it has given them. It was at his request, that the papers and collections of that voyage, were freely restored by the British Government, into whose hands they had fallen, for the use of science in France.

Many useful institutions for advancing the arts at home have been, likewise, promoted by him. Sir John Sinclair availed himself, advantageously, of the advice and encouragement of Sir Joseph Banks, when he entered upon the compilation of that statistical account of Scotland, which he has, some time since, happily completed. The institution of the Board of Agriculture has

had its utility greatly increased by means of the counsels of the President of the Royal Society. In his attentions to the improvement of the breeds of our sheep and other domesticated animals,—to the drainage of the fens of Lincolnshire, in which his estates chiefly lie,—to the amelioration of gardening and husbandry, and of the implements employed in them,—he has given many signal and happy instances of that scientific patriotism, which has long been the best benefactor of our country.

Such rewards as could be bestowed on a man of ample fortune and perfect disinterestedness, have not been withheld from the author of these services to virtue and science. The King, undeniably a zealous patron of all that is in science sublime and useful, and as a judge of merit, at once candid and discriminating,—has honoured Sir Joseph Banks with many flattering personal attentions. As it is usual for the Princes of Germany to bestow on men of science and literature the the honorary title of *Counsellor*, or *Privy Counsellor;* his Majesty has done Sir Joseph the much higher honour of introducing him, as an effective member, into his Privy Council; which is that, not of a petty principality but of the greatest empire in the world. The honour of the knighthood of the order of the Bath, has been hitherto bestowed usually on none but Peers, Princes, or Commanders in the navy or army, distinguished by illustrious services. In the installation of Sir Joseph Banks, it was bestowed to grace science and the worth of a private gentleman. Among foreigners, the name of the President of the Royal Society is venerated, even as that of science itself, and of all the liberal and exalted sentiments which it is natural for science to inspire. Having devoted himself to philosophy, he has never courted political importance, not even so far as to procure, as he might easily have done, a seat in Parliament. Yet, among the landholders in whose neighbourhood his estates lie, he is honoured and observed on every occasion, and especially in all their common

transactions of county business, even as if he were, in the bustle of politics, their principal leader.

Sir Joseph's personal form is tall, well built, and manly, with a countenance expressive of dignity and intelligence. He has been, for some years, occasionally afflicted with the gout. In other respects, he enjoys usually good health, though now above sixty years of age. His manners are polite yet urbane; his conversation rich in instructive information, frank, engaging, unaffected, without levity, yet endowed with sufficient vivacity. It may have been, in mistake, supposed by those who knew him not, that he was merely a naturalist and a virtuoso. No error was ever farther from the truth. He possesses information upon almost every different species of subjects within the range of art or nature. On most subjects he exercises the discriminating and inventive powers of an originally vigorous mind: his knowledge is not that of facts merely, or of technical terms and complex abstractions alone, but of science in its elementary principles, and of Nature in her happiest forms.

(1801-2.)

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY ADDINGTON,

CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, &c.

A sudden and unexpected elevation naturally attracts the notice and even the wonder of mankind. We are eager to ask what are the merits, the talents, and the qualifications that lead to unexampled success? We are desirous of being acquainted with the road that conducts her favourite votary to the shrine of Fortune; and we pant with expectation to become acquainted with the life, the education, the friendships, and the pursuits of such a man, hoping from these to deduce the motives by which his conduct has been actuated, and the secret by which he has been enabled to attain the summit of ambition.

Mr. Addington is the son of a physician of some eminence, who died about eleven years since,* after having practised with equal celebrity and success. That gentleman, during the whole of his life, appears to have been a great politician,† and to have studied, with equal attention, the constitution of a patient, and the constitution of the state.

* Dr. Addington died March 21, 1790. He was educated at Trinity College, Oxford, where he took the degrees of M. A. May 13, 1740, B. M. February 5, 1740-41, and D. M. January 24, 1744. He was admitted of the College of Physicians in London, 1756, wrote a pamphlet on the Scurvy, and another concerning a negociation with Lord Bute.

† Dr. Addington was sent for by a gentleman whose son was supposed to be at the point of death. While the Doctor was in the sick room, the family assembled below in anxious expectation, and, after a long and painful pause, a near relation of the patient hurried out of the room, to enquire the reason of his delay. On the stairs he found the Physician and Apothecary, who was a *Foxite*, involved in a dispute about

Dr. Addington started originally at Reading, where he kept a private madhouse, and married a Miss Hiley, the daughter of an eminent schoolmaster† of that place, with whom he obtained a fortune of 15,000*l.* On this he came to London, set up an equipage, and suddenly attained great practice, he and the late Dr. Heberden being then the two physicians most in vogue in the capital. Having obtained a considerable addition to his wealth‡, Dr. A. retired to Berkshire, and spent the remainder of his life there.

Henry Addington, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, was born in or about the year 1756. He and his brother*, John Hiley, were sent together, at a proper age, to Cheam school, where they remained for some time, under the Rev. Mr. Gilpin† ; and it is not a little remarkable, that in all their future pursuits, whether in search of knowledge, in the mazes of politics, or in the career of preferment, they have never been once separated. The two brothers afterwards went to Winchester school, over which Dr. Wharton at that period presided; thence they repaired to Dr. Goodenough's at Ealing; and finally they removed to Oxford, where their father himself had been bred.

the India bill. "Dear Sir," said the young man, labouring with fraternal affection, and angry with the physician, "there is no one in this house denies the transcendent merits of the *heroes of Burton-Pynsent* (alluding to Lord Chatham's family,) but my poor brother will, I fear, be dead before you get through the India bill." The medical practitioner felt the hint, went in, and prescribed.—*Anecd. and Biog.* p. 5.

† The Rev. Haviland John Hiley, M. A. of Baliol College, Oxford.

‡ He is said to have retired with 100,000*l.*

* This gentleman, so called after his *maternal grandfather*, was left a considerable fortune by a relation while an infant in the cradle.

† Mr. Gilpin entertained a high notion of Mr. Henry Addington's abilities, in consequence of which he very candidly advised his father to finish his education at some great public school.

In the mean time, the political tenets of Dr. A. had led to a connexion with the family of the late Earl of Chatham, whose friend and physician he was, which in the end produced the aggrandisement of his own.

The Doctor entertained a high opinion of the abilities and integrity of the first Mr. Pitt, who, to an eloquence far more resplendent than that of his younger son, added great practical talents, a scorn of oppression, and a noble pride, which made him spurn at every thing that bore the semblance of corruption.

During the latter part of Lord Chatham's life he lived in great intimacy with that nobleman, and such was the confidence subsisting between them, that, when a negociation was opened with the late Earl of Bute respecting his return to power, he acted as the plenipotentiary of the ex-minister.*

* "In the very week of this transaction (a negociation concerning France) an extraordinary affair happened relative to our hero, which afterwards furnished a subject of much disquisition. It was a transaction between the Earl of Bute and Lord Chatham. As the affair is involved in considerable obscurity, I will first simply state the facts, as they appear upon the face of the evidence.

"Sir James Wright, an intimate friend of Lord Bute, and Dr. Addington, an eminent physician, who attended the Earl of Chatham, had repeatedly entertained each other with political conversation, in which the names of their respective patrons were introduced. The frequent recurrency of this theme was, it seems, first animadverted upon by Sir James, or one of his friends; and it was thought proper in consequence to communicate the purport of these conversations to Lord Bute. Thus the circumstance is related in one part of the account, published in Sir James' own name; though elsewhere he seems to say, that the communication was made at the immediate request of Dr. Addington. Lord Bute, in answer, wished the Doctor to be requested to assure Lord Chatham, that "if he should think proper to take an active part in administration, he should have his most hearty concurrence and sincere good wishes." He said, "For his own part, nothing but the most imminent danger to this country should induce him to take a part in the government of it, in conjunction with an able and upright administration." In the mean time, Dr. Addington did not choose to engage in so extraordinary an affair, without having his commission in writing. Sir James accordingly sent him a letter next morning, containing the above sentiments. Dr. Addington says, in his narrative, that Sir James added verbally,

It may be naturally supposed that this of course led to an intimacy between their families, and we accordingly find that the young Pitts and the young Addingtons early in life cultivated a friendship with each other, which received a fresh increase when Mr. William Pitt became a member of the Society of Lincoln's Inn, and Mr. Henry Addington entered his name as a student, and *eat commons* at the same hall.

Mr. Addington, who was thus destined for the bar, might in time have obtained a silk gown, and perhaps risen to the dignity of a Welch judge; but he soon found that a *wig of another kind* suited his head far better than that of the president of a provincial judicature; nor was he mistaken in his hopes. The brilliant career of his young friend already pointed to the first

that "Lord Bute was willing to engage in such an administration as Secretary of State, and that no objection could be made to Lord Camden, or more than one of Lord Chatham's friends." This addition is peremptorily denied by Sir James, who ascribes it to Dr. Addington's confounding the hypothetical conversation that preceded the negociation with the negociation itself.

The answer Lord Chatham dictated to Sir James's letter, which is very full and explicit, I shall beg leave to add.——"Lord Chatham heard, with particular satisfaction, the favourable sentiments, on this subject, of the noble Lord with whom you have talked with regard to the impending ruin of the kingdom. He fears all hope is precluded: but adds, that zeal, duty, and obedience, may outlive hope; that if any thing can prevent the consummation of public ruin, it can only be new counsels and new counsellors, without further loss of time; a real change, from a sincere conviction of past errors, and not a mere palliation, which must prove fruitless." In answer to Dr. Addington's verbal communication, which was not made till after writing the above note, Lord Chatham affirmed, that "it was impossible for him to serve the King and country with either Lord Bute or Lord North;" and he desired Dr. Addington, if any one asked about it, "to bear witness that he said so."

The expression, "real change," in the note, struck, it seems, both Sir James and his patron, as pointing at that nobleman. An answer was accordingly immediately returned, in which Lord Bute disclaimed having seen the King for many years, or known any thing of public affairs but from common conversation or the newspapers. At the same time Sir James informed Dr. Addington, that his stay in town could be of no service.—*The History of the Life of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, p. 263.

offices of the state, and Mr. Addington was *drawn up* to power and consequence in the vortex of his successful ambition.

We soon find him occupying a seat in Parliament, declaiming against Mr. Fox's coalition with Lord North, opposing the India bill of that gentleman, and smoothing his friend's way, by an oily eloquence rather than a transcendent oratory, to the summit of power*. No sooner was this attained on the part of Mr. Pitt, than Mr. Addington began to taste *those crumbs of comfort* in the shape of official emoluments which he is now enabled so plentifully to bestow†; but a more lucrative situation awaited him, which, after a warm struggle, he obtained in 1789, in a manner highly honourable to himself.

Mr. now Lord Grenville, was at this period Speaker of the House of Commons; and it was deemed necessary that he should be elevated to one of the highest departments in the state. The friends of Mr. Addington immediately pointed him out as a proper person to succeed him. The Marquis of Graham accordingly, on Monday July 8, 1789, after a high eulogium on his talents, moved "that he should take the chair." Sir Gilbert Elliot was proposed by Mr. Welbore Ellis, now Lord Mendip, and on the division the numbers appeared, for Mr. Addington 215, for Sir Gilbert Elliot 142

* The Addingtons exerted themselves in a very particular manner during the King's illness. At that critical moment the opinion of Dr. Addington, who had paid much attention to *cases of insanity*, was of great weight. When examined before the House of Lords, he drew a favourable inference from his Majesty's "not having had any previous melancholy;" and held forth the prospect of speedy convalescence. In short, his hopes, afterwards so happily realised, are supposed to have had no common influence over the *political faith* of Mr. Pitt, and to have tended not a little to give stability to his tottering power.

† The Recordership of Devizes, in Wiltshire, secured a seat for that borough in the House of Commons, while, at the same time, he became a Lord of Trade and Plantations, &c.

—majority 73. Mr. Addington accordingly assumed the *insignia* of office; but, when he addressed the King on the occasion, he was pleased to observe, with becoming modesty, "that he felt himself unequal to the arduous task which the partiality of that house had imposed upon him, and hoped his Majesty would be pleased, by his *royal disapprobation* of their present choice, to afford his faithful Commons an opportunity of electing a person better qualified to discharge the duties of an office so important."

On the convocation of a new Parliament, a few months after, Mr. Addington was unanimously re-elected, and the subject of the impeachment soon afforded a very apposite opportunity for the exercise of his talents and industry, more especially when the question was agitated, whether the impeachment of Warren Hastings, Esq. subsisted subsequent to the dissolution of Parliament?

Mr. Speaker, on this occasion, rose to state to the Committee the result of the best research into precedents that he had been able to make, and this was decidedly in favour of the impeachment remaining *in statu quo*. He traced the growth and developement of the principle of impeachment from the reign of Edward IV. and shewed clearly, that, as far as regarded the effect of a dissolution, it was precisely the same for impeachments as for writs of error and appeal. He produced various instances of writs of error not abating prior to 1673, and contended that the report of the Lords' Committee, and the resolution of the Lords at that time, which had remained unquestioned ever since, were founded on precedents, and what were clearly understood to be the practice of Parliament: that the report and resolution of 1678, respecting the continuance of an impeachment after a dissolution, was founded on that of 1673, because both impeachments and writs of error were so strictly connected in principle, that it was impossible to make a distinction between them; that the

resolution of 1673 could not have been adopted merely as a colourable foundation for the resolution of 1678, because, when the former was passed, it was impossible that the case to which the latter applied could have been foreseen; and that, when Lord Danby applied to the Court of King's Bench to be bailed after the dissolution of Parliament, the court recognised the doctrine, that the impeachment did not fall to the ground in consequence of the dissolution, as the known and established law of Parliament. On the precedents of 1685, by which this resolution, as far as respected impeachments, was reversed, he observed, that it was of no authority, the Commons having been corruptly chosen, and wholly devoted to the court; the principal evidence for the prosecution, Titus Oates, convicted of perjury, and consequently incompetent; and the resolution itself passed without examination of precedents, not generally with express limitation to the particular case.

In like manner Mr. Addington shewed, from the cases of Lords Salisbury and Peterborough, in 1690, that it was then understood to be the law of Parliament, that impeachments do not abate by a dissolution, and that, after much delay and management, they were at last discharged by a resolution strictly applicable to their particular case, and in no respect affecting the general question. The same argument he deduced from the case of Lord Oxford in 1717, as far as that case went. The House, he remarked, would do well to consider how far their undoubted right might be affected by the doubt which appointing a committee to search for precedents would imply. Let the friends of Mr. Hastings remember, that his case was unconnected with the general question; that if it were proper for the House to proceed against him, the renewal of the impeachment would be a greater hardship than to take it up where it now stood, and that at all events the length of the proof, or the magnitude of the crime, could never, with any shadow of decency, be suffered to protect the criminal. He recommended to the House not to put it in the pow-

er of the Crown to defeat an impeachment by a dissolution, or of the Lords to defeat it by delay, which, as they might choose on what and how many days they would sit each session of Parliament, they might be able to do were a dissolution not to do it; and he exhorted them to adopt a line that would acquire honour to themselves, and render important service to posterity, by making "assurance doubly sure" on the only doubt that had ever arisen among the Commons respecting their own privilege.

His opinion on this subject, of which we have here given an outline, must be allowed by all impartial men to be constitutional: fraught on one hand with notions highly salutary in respect to public justice, and on the other pregnant with principles calculated to fortify the power and confirm the authority of the *Third Estate*, in respect to the exercise of its rights.

Nor did Mr. A. allow any opportunity to escape for maintaining the franchises of the House over which he presided; for, when the Peers, in May 1791, thought proper to make a trifling alteration in a bill,* by which they assumed the *initiative* respecting money, he stated the circumstance to the House, and, after quoting a precedent, which he caused to be read from the Journals of the 8th of March 1719, by which it appeared that a similar bill, on being sent from the Lords, had been rejected, *because it affected the revenue*, the Commons followed his advice, and refused to proceed with the present.

But the late Speaker did not confine himself to what might be termed his *official duties*. He was always an active and efficient member when the House sat in a

* The bill in question was intended to amend the 6th of Anne, respecting the reward to be given on the conviction of felons. The Lords had thought proper, on this occasion, to diminish the reward.

committee, and a chairman regulated the debates. Few subjects of great national importance but were canvassed by him on those occasions, and he must be allowed, in general, to have added great weight and importance to whatever side he adopted.

Uniformly acting with Mr. Pitt in all grand political questions, it is greatly to be regretted that he should have opposed that gentleman only, when a question of humanity respecting a miserable portion of the human race was agitated, and have taken part with Mr. Dundas, whose *equivocal enmity* to the slave trade has occasioned its continuance, notwithstanding the Commons of England seem to have been pledged for an abolition.

It is true that Mr. A. termed this traffic "a crime, which he had never heard mentioned without feeling the utmost abhorrence and indignation;" but it is equally true, that he was at the same time feelingly alive to the pecuniary interests of the planters and mortgagees, who, according to his own principles, must have profited by this "crime." Neither is the reasoning to be tolerated, that, "if relinquished by us, it might be carried on in a manner more repugnant to the interests of humanity," as, if this be really an abominable traffic, the guilt and shame ought not instantly to be removed.

But, in order to decide on Mr. A.'s conduct, the best mode will be to quote his own arguments, premising at the same time, that it is not here meant to convey the least suspicion of his sincerity.

On Monday, April 2, 1792, after two petitions had been presented, one from the city of London, and the other from the livery of London, against the slave trade, Mr. Wilberforce moved *the order of the day*, which was "for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the circumstances of the African slave trade." This being done, and Sir

William Dolben having taken the chair, the same gentleman, at the conclusion of a long and elegant speech, moved, "That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the trade carried on by British subjects, for the purpose of obtaining slaves on the coast of Africa, ought to be abolished." Mr. Thornton,* Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, &c. were for an immediate abolition, while Mr. Dundas, General Tarleton, &c. were against it; and, to the surprize of all men, it so occurred, that the premier found himself, for the first time, in a *minority*.

In the course of the debate Mr. Addington delivered his opinion, the substance of which follows:

"The Speaker said, he had never listened with greater satisfaction in his life to any speech, than to the whole of that just delivered by his right honourable friend, (Mr. Dundas,) who had relieved him from the utmost pain and anxiety. He declared, that he was one of those alluded to by his right honourable friend, who preferred a middle path in regard to the abolition of a trade, or rather a crime, which he had never heard mentioned, without feeling the utmost abhorrence and detestation. Hitherto he had been silent on the subject, because he had felt that he could not go the length of voting with his honourable friend, who had introduced the question of the abolition of the trade into that House; but now he had heard what he could concur in with ease to his

* In the course of this gentleman's speech he read the following letter from King Naim-bazo, in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, complaining that some of his relations had been kidnapped and carried off to the West Indies, where they were at present in a state of slavery: "My subjects, and the subjects of other kings, have been stolen away by the inhabitants of all nations who visit this coast. Three of my own relations have been taken away by a Captain Coxe, and sold for slaves; for what reason I know not. I never molest the property or person of others. I love the natives of Great Britain—I have borne many insults from them, which have occasioned me to be silent so long——Whether I shall see my relations again I know not, but those who took them will be called to account for their actions one day or another."

mind, and satisfaction to his conscience. He complimented Mr. Whitbread on his eloquent speech, and agreed with him in thinking that the slave trade, however modified, could not be defended, because no argument could justify the selling of one man for money, to the despotism of another man, and tearing him away against his will from his country, his family, and his friends, in order to make him drag out a miserable existence in bondage in a distant country, to which he was an utter stranger. While he turned with disgust from the hateful trade, he saw the necessity of considering the opposite claims, and was also fearful the trade, if relinquished by us, might be carried on in a manner more repugnant to the interests of humanity.

"He thought these opposite interests would be in a great decree reconciled by the scheme of gradual abolition. He suggested, that the imports of slaves into the islands should be limited to ten or twelve years. He contended that negroes, notwithstanding the difference of their colour, ought to be regarded as human creatures. He condemned the slave trade as a measure he had always abhorred. The nervous eloquence of his honourable friend recalled to his memory the observation of a very venerable and eminent judge, now in retirement and in the vale of years (Lord Mansfield), who, when charged with showing too much lenity to a rebel lord, said, that he knew no language which could add guilt to treason. In the same view he knew no language which could add to the horrors of the slave trade; and the proposition now before them would undoubtedly tend to prevent man from preying upon man.

"Mr. Addington said, the present state of the negroes in the West India islands certainly was inadequate to the necessary supply to do the work of the planters; there was too unequal a comparison between the males and females: he not only therefore considered an immediate abolition of the importation of the African negroes as impolitic, but should think a duty on the im-

portation of male negroes would operate as a bounty on the importation of female slaves, and in a few years the defect would be supplied. Mr. Dundas' proposition, Mr. Addington said, appeared to him to be such as could not be opposed by any rational objection; he agreed with him in the whole of it, one point excepted, viz. the making of those negro children free who were born of slaves. He thought rather, that they should have their freedom after a period of service of ten or fifteen years, to pay their masters for the expence of rearing and educating them. A bounty for such as should rear more children, bearing a proportion to the sexes, payable to such negro fathers, might, he conceived, produce the most salutary effects and greatly tend to increase the population of the negroes. He declared he did not think his right honourable friend would have submitted his ideas to the House, if he had not meant to state them afterwards in the form of a subtantial proposition: he therefore hoped that his honourable friend's motion (Mr. Wilberforce's) would not be adopted, but that his end would be answered by other means."*

Notwithstanding the eloquent efforts of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox on the other side, which flashed conviction throughout the whole extent of the kingdom, we find Mr. Addington persevering in his opinions. When Mr. Dundas, on Friday April 27, 1792, moved the *order of the day*, which was for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consi-

* Mr. Fox immediately followed Mr. Addington, and, to adopt the language of one of the reporters, " in a most able and animated speech, reprobated the suggestions of Mr. Dundas and Mr. Addington, pronouncing what had fallen from them to be the most formidable and alarming opposition that had yet been offered to the important question of the abolition of the slave trade. He arose, therefore, with an anxious desire to relieve the painful sensations of his mind, and to do away the deceptions and delusions that were endeavoured, not intentionally he believed, to be set before the eyes of the public, to misguide and mislead their judgement, and the judgement of that House," &c.

der of the further means for the abolition of the slave trade, this was granted, and Mr. Beaufoy was called to the chair. The first resolution was then read, viz. "That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it shall not be lawful to import any African negroes into any British colonies or plantations in ships owned or navigated by British subjects, at any time after the 1st of January 1800." After Mr. Hobart and Lord Mornington had delivered their opinions, the Speaker rose, and began by observing, that "having, in a late debate on the subject, voted that the slave trade ought to be *gradually abolished*, he thought it his duty to state to the Committee the ideas he entertained on the mode of carrying that resolution into effect.

"The interval between the resolution, that the trade be abolished, and the period at which the abolition would take place, he admitted to be a most dreadful interval. He had, Mr. Addington declared, stated the trade to be abandoned; and he begged to remind the Committee and he implored them to consider the circumstance, that he never had mentioned one word as to the justice of the trade; but he had merely noticed the justice of those claims that might be made by the persons who would be affected by its abolition. If the interests of the planters were abandoned, the abolition of the slave trade, he was convinced, would never be effected. How was it possible, he asked, when the means of population were taken away, to supply the deficiency? How could they fill the chasm that they created? What he had stated, Mr. Addington declared, was the result of his real sentiments, of his real opinion. In certain conditions of society there were, he observed, combinations of justice, of policy, of humanity and of interest, that rendered it almost impossible to look to the *ultimatum*, or he should rather say the *maximum*, of one, without counteracting that of the other; the question was not, he said, between *blood and gold*, nor between what now actually was, and what might be hereafter, but it was whether an *immediate* or a *gradual abolition*

would best effect the object the Committee had in view: for his part, he thought that object too would be most safely and certainly attained, by protracting the period of abolition; and therefore he wished 1796 were the year proposed, instead of that contained in the amendment.

" On a former night his right honourable friend had argued from calculations, that, for three or four years past, the old islands had no occasion for further importation; but their not importing in that time might be accounted for from being unfortunate in their crops (as was the fact), and the increased price of negroes. It could not be argued, that they had no want of negroes, from their inability to purchase. Neither could the statement of deaths be relied on; for it might be supposed that the planters represented the mortality as less than it really was, from the desire of obviating the charges of cruelty brought against them.

" Mr. Addington took notice of the West India and ceded islands, and used a variety of arguments to maintain his proposition, and urged, in particular, the danger liable to the mortgagees and others concerned in those islands. He declared that he perfectly agreed with Mr. Burke's opinion, as to the good effect that must arise from the public places of worship, and he strongly recommended that mode of civilization as one of the most efficacious and certain methods to reform the negroes.

" From these considerations he should oppose the present motion, but, if the period were extended to the 1st of January 1796, and the trade left open from that time, and free from all restrictions, he should acquiesce in it.

" For the sake of Africa itself, he should also wish the abolition to be *gradual*, that the natives of that country might not lose all traffic, until they became a

little more civilized, and fit for commerce of another kind."

While Mr. Addington was distinguishing himself in the speaker's chair, by the impartiality with which he regulated the debates, and the order and decorum with which he conducted the public business, an event no less sudden than extraordinary occured, which produced a very material change in his situation. The event to which we now allude, was the resignation of Mr. Pitt and his colleagues, a measure of a very ambiguous nature, and which has never yet been sufficiently explained. While all men were anxious to know who was to be the new minister, the public learned, with some degree of surprise, that Mr. Addington had been sent for by the King, and held daily conferences with his Majesty. This business was at first conducted with some degree of mystery, one of the royal family* having lent his equipage, in order, if possible, to conceal the negociation from the prying eye of curiosity. But this was of no avail, for it was soon rumoured abroad, and was not upon the whole unfavourably received, as Mr. Pitt's administration had of late years been supported by the *fears* rather than the *love* of the people.

The King's second alarming illness for a while protracted the retreat of the then Chancellor of the Exchequer; but on his Majesty's convalescence, all the necessary arrangements were made, and every thing adjusted seemingly to the entire satisfaction of those who went out, as well as those who came in.

Mr. Addington having thus leaped from the Speaker's Chair to the Treasury Bench, the eyes of the whole nation became fixed upon him. It was hoped that, after a bloody and expensive war, some sincere and decisive measures would be taken in order to produce a peace; and it must be allowed, that the conduct of the

* The Duke of Kent.

new premier, in this instance, has given greater satisfaction, by its openness and candour, than the haughty behaviour of his predecessors.

Mr. Addington, however, by his vindication of the late administration, has in some measure *affiliated* himself to it, and become accountable for its errors and misconduct. The suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act; the feeble cry of conspiracy; the production of *sealed bags* of papers; the continuance of martial law in Ireland, and of the system of secret imprisonment in England, have perhaps nipped his popularity in the bud, and are thought by many to savour too much of the *old school*. On the other hand, it must be allowed that he has entered upon office at a time, and in circumstances peculiarly critical. Supported as he is by the royal favour and confidence, Mr. Pitt's power is still considered as paramount, and the *mutes* attached to the person of the "heaven-born minister" are thought to wait but for the signal to strangle his political successor.

A young nobleman, related to the late premier, has already termed this "an administration of shreds and patches;" and it has been repeatedly asserted, that a *secret understanding* subsists between the new and the old ministry: but time alone can fully and explicitly develope this matter.

Mr. Addington's first attempt in his financial capacity certainly did not come up to the expectations of the public, and the bill to disqualify the clergy from sitting in the House of Commons would have passed with a far better grace, had it not expressly precluded a man* hostile to his principles, from opposing them in a public character.†

* Mr. J. H. Tooke.

† When the bill in question came before the House of Peers, a *great law lord* said, "he had heard of certain rumours, about the authors of this measure, which he could

The present premier possesses great influence, in consequence of the excellence of his character, and the high respect he had acquired during the time he acted as Speaker. His Majesty may be said to evince a *personal* attachment to him, and, if report be true, he has presented him with, and furnished for him, a house in in Richmond park, in order to be near him at all times.*

In private life Mr. A. is particularly amiable. He is a sincere friend, an affectionate brother, a kind father, and a tender husband. Possessing an ample income,† and being but little devoted to expence, he cannot be supposed to be instigated by the sordid wish of creating a fortune for himself; and, as his connexions‡ are all in affluent circumstances, he has no poor relations to provide for out of the public purse. On the other hand, it remains to be proved, whether his abilities entitle him

not credit, more especially as to its being a *matter of expediency*. At the head of government was at present placed a gentleman of great respectability, of known integrity and purity of manners, and of tried wisdom in a situation of great dignity and arduous duty, which he discharged with infinite credit to himself, and great advantage to the public; he would not therefore believe, that such a character would be so prodigal of his reputation as to have consented to squander it away so profusely as to have been the author of this very important and extraordinary bill; he therefore begged their lordships to believe, that he utterly disclaimed all credit to rumours of this kind."

* Until the new mansion be got in order, Mr. Dundas has lent him his villa at Wimbledon.

† He is said to have been left 2000*l.* per annum in land, in Berks and Devonshire, at the time of his father's death.

‡ Mr. Hiley Addington, his brother, is in parliament, and, as already hinted, was left a fortune early in life. Of his four sisters, one is married to Dr. Goodenough, a physician at Oxford; another to the late Mr. Sutton, formerly a merchant who had retired to an estate in Somersetshire; a third to Mr. Hoskins, of North Perrot, in Wiltshire, originally a clothier; and lastly, the youngest, Charlotte, to Mr. Bragge, a barrister, one of the members for Bristol, Chairman of the committee of Ways and Means, and a school fellow of the minister. He himself is married to a lady of small fortu and great beauty, by whom he has had several children.

to rank as a first-rate statesman; and a few years—perhaps a few months—will determine, whether the new minister be destined to confer glory or disgrace on the empire; to subvert or to restore the liberties of his country!

(1801-2.)

JOHN HORNE TOOKE, A. M. M. P.

TO sacrifice fortune to principle; to immolate ambition at the shrine of duty; to offer up a man's best hopes and expectations, his health, and his comforts on the altar of his country; these are no common, no ordinary efforts: but when they are accompanied by fines, persecution, and imprisonment; when death and confiscation stare him in the face, our astonishment will naturally be increased, and common minds will be found to hesitate between wonder and approbation. Concerning men of this description, a future age will be eager in its inquiries, and it is befitting that the curiosity of the present should not be wholly disappointed. Indeed, there is no man existing in this country who possesses a fairer claim to be enrolled among its PUBLIC CHARACTERS than the subject of this memoir; and it is a matter of personal delicacy alone, on the part of the Editor, who possesses ample materials, that has hitherto prevented him from detailing the particulars. Had not Mr. Tooke become a member of the British legislature, this account should have never found its way to the press during his life-time.

John Horne Tooke is the son of Mr. Horne, a respectable inhabitant of Westminster, who attained con-

siderable opulence, and became well known as Treasurer to the Middlesex Hospital, a noble and extensive charity, in the success of which his descendant, who is one of the governors, has always exerted himself with a kind of hereditary predilection. Young Mr. Horne enjoyed the best education that his native city, or perhaps any part of the kingdom, could afford, having been sent to Westminster school* at an early age, and no doubt meeting, while there, with all the equalizing gradations experienced in the vicinity of Dean's Yard by the heir of a duke as well as by the son of a peasant; thus rising in *gradation* from the humble state of a *fag* to the dignity and consequence of an *upper boy*.

It was soon remarked that Horne possessed considerable talents and application ; but these were only exerted on extraordinary occasions, for at other times he was rather indolent, and so *chary* indeed was he of his abilities and his industry, that he was often accustomed to employ lads of inferior capacity to perform his tasks for him. The question is still undecided as to the superior advantages of a public over a private education; but such as contend for the manly mind, the ingenuous manners, and the practical knowledge, excited, elicited, and diffused by the former, will doubtless be eager to add this, to many other instances, in behalf of their favourite hypothesis.

Mr. Horne at the usual age removed to Eton, and soon distinguished himself among his contemporaries by the shrewdness of his remarks, the keenness of his wit, and the severity of his satire—satire never exerted but against what either was, or appeared to him to be, an abuse. From this celebrated school, the cradle of so many men of worth and talent, he was sent to Cambridge, and entered of St. John's College, in 1754.

* The Editor has heard that, previously to this, he attended an academy in Soho Square or its immediate neighbourhood.

In addition to his former character, he now added that of unabating industry, and, instead of giving himself up to the dissipation that too frequently characterizes and disgraces our two universities, and often induces parents to send their children for education either to Scotland or Germany, he applied himself to his studies with extraordinary assiduity. Even at that period he is supposed to have turned his thoughts towards the formation and construction of his native language, and to have meditated the plan, from which afterwards he derived so much celebrity in his ΕΠΕΑ ΠΤΕΡΟΕΝ.*

Mr. H. was destined by his family for the church, and this gracious mother appeared ready to stretch forth her willing arms to receive him; indeed, he was wooed in no common form, for he soon enjoyed the immediate view of her choicest preferments; and, had it not been for the occurrence of some singular events, there can be but little doubt that he might at this moment have reclined at his ease within the stall of a golden prebend, or perhaps even have exhibited his mitred head with the Watsons, the Douglases, and the Porteuses, in the cathedral of a diocese and the upper house of Parliament.

Mr. Horne having entered into holy orders while yet a very young man, obtained the living or *chapelry* of Brentford. But this was intended merely as a *debut*, for, as has been already hinted, fairer and better prospects were pointed out to him. His family possessed considerable interest, some of his relations enjoyed appointments at court, and one of them held a confidential situation about a great personage. In short, it was so contrived, that a certain Duke was to make a *nominal*

* While at Cambridge Mr. Horne took the degree of A. M. and it is not a little remarkable that this was attempted to be withheld by Lord Mumford, a relation of the nobleman (Lord Temple) who afterwards opposed his sitting in the house of Commons.

application to his Majesty in his behalf, which was to be immediately followed by ecclesiastical preferment.* Matters were in this train, when some unexpected events of a public nature ensued, and dashed the yet untasted cup from his lips!

The commencement of his present Majesty's reign was such as seemed to augur the most happy prospects to the nation. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, had carried the triumphant arms of Britain to the remotest quarters of the globe; we were victorious in every sea, and both hemispheres acknowledged our superior skill, bravery, and good fortune.——On the other hand, a young prince, who justly gloried in being born a "Briton," by contributing to the independence of the judges, already seemed to exhibit a wish to keep the fountain of public justice pure and unpolluted, and thus promised to become the guardian of that constitution, which his ancestors were called in, and he himself sworn to protect. A sudden change, however, took place in his councils, and new men and new measures were recurred to.

This extraordinary event was accompanied by a correspondent impression on the part of the people, and the arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Wilkes, then member for Aylesbury, by a general warrant, afterwards declared to be *illegal*, called forth the energies of the nation, and awakened a degree of jealousy that has never since been allowed to subside.

Mr. Horne was abroad when this occurrence took place; but having imbibed the principles, and inherited the spirit of an Englishman, his heart was alive to every thing that affected either the honour or the liberties of his country: perhaps the contrast witnessed by him, in the

* Mr. Horne was promised that he should be appointed one of the chaplains to his Majesty, with a prospect of such other preferment as was sufficient to satisfy his wishes.

various states through which he passed during his travels, made his own still dearer to him, from the recollection that its boasted pre-eminence originated in, and could alone be preserved by, the freedom of its government. During the subsequent exile of Mr. Wilkes, he visited him at Paris; and, when he was foiled in his attempt to represent the city of London in 1768, Mr. Horne, at his own risk, opened houses for him at Brentford, supported his interests, procured him a multitude of friends, and finally enabled him to triumph, in consequence of being returned to Parliament as one of the knights of the shire for the county of Middlesex.*

It must be allowed, on all hands, that the private character of Mr. Wilkes was far from being immaculate; his cause however was unexceptionable, and no man knew better than Mr. Horne how to discriminate between them, as may be seen from the following quotation:

"I was your friend only for the sake of the public cause: that reason does in certain matters remain: so far as it remains, so far I am still your friend; and therefore I said, in my first letter, "that the public should know how far they *ought*, and how far they *ought not* to support you." To bring to punishment the great delinquents who have corrupted the parliament and the seats of justice, who have encouraged, pardoned, and rewarded murder: to heal the breaches made in the constitution, and by salutary provisions to prevent them for the future: to replace once more, not the

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* "I found you," says he, in a letter addressed to Mr. Wilkes in 1771, after that gentleman had treated him with no common degree of ingratitude, "in the most hopeless state: an outlaw; plunged into the deepest distress; overwhelmed with debt and disgrace; forsaken by all your friends, and shunned by every thing that called itself a gentleman, at a time when very honest men, who could distinguish between you and your cause, and who feared no danger, yet feared a ridicule attending a probable defeat.

"Happily we succeeded, and I leave you by repeated elections the legal representative of Middlesex, an alderman of London, and about thirty thousand pounds richer than when I first knew you: myself by many degrees poorer than I was before; and I pretend to have been a little instrumental in all these changes of your situation."

administration and execution, for which they are very unfit, but the checks of government really in the hands of the governed :

" For these purposes, if it were possible to suppose that the great enemy of mankind could be rendered instrumental to their happiness, so far the Devil himself should be supported by the people. For a human instrument they should go further; he should not only be supported, but thanked and rewarded, for the good which perhaps he did not intend, as an encouragement to others to follow his example. But if the foul fiend, having gained their support, should endeavour to delude the weaker part, and entice them to an idolatrous worship of himself, by persuading them that what he suggested was *their voice,—and their voice, the voice of God :*

" If he should attempt to obstruct every thing that leads to their security and happiness, and to promote every wickedness that tends only to his own emolument :

" If, when—the cause—the cause—reverberates on their ears, he should divert them from the original sound, and direct them towards the opposite unfaithful echo :

" If confusion should be all his aim, and mischief his sole enjoyment, would not he act the part of a faithful monitor to the people who should save them from their snares by reminding them of the true object of their constitutional worship, expressed in these words of holy writ (for to me it is so), *Rex, lex loquens ; lex, rex mutus.* This is—the cause—the cause—To make this union indissoluble is the only cause I acknowledge. As far as the support of Mr. Wilkes tends to this point I am as warm as the warmest : but all the lines of your projects are drawn towards a different centre—yourself ; and if, with a good intention, I have been diligent to gain you powers which may be perverted to mischief, I am bound to be doubly diligent to prevent their being so employed."

Mr. Tooke's rupture with Mr. Wilkes soon after involved him in a dispute with the celebrated Junius, a name that will not be forgotten in this country, while the English language continues to be that of the nation. In a letter addressed " to his Grace the Duke of Grafton," dated July 9, 1771, Mr. T. is accused of apostacy, and the dereliction of all his former political principles. This assertion did not remain long uncontradicted, for in four days afterwards the memorable reply, beginning with "*Farce, Comedy, and Tragedy—Wilkes, Foote, and Junius*, united at the same time against one poor parson, are fearful odds," &c. appeared in the Public Advertiser. After alluding to the insinuations

that had been thrown out in respect to his "new zeal in support of administration," and professing "the utmost abhorrence to their measures," he continues thus:

"You are bound to refute what I here advance, or to lose your credit for veracity. You must produce facts; surmise and general abuse, in however elegant language, ought not to pass for proofs. You have every advantage, and I have every disadvantage. You are unknown, I give my name: all parties, both in and out of administration, have their reasons (which I shall relate hereafter) for uniting in their wishes against me; and the popular prejudice was as strongly in your favour, as it is violent against the parson.

"Singular as my present situation is," adds he, "it is neither painful, nor was it unforeseen. He is not fit for public business who does not, even at his entrance, prepare his mind for such an event. Health, fortune, tranquility, and private connexions, I have sacrificed upon the altar of the public; and the only return I receive, because I will not concur to dupe and mislead a senseless multitude, is barely that they have not yet torn me in pieces. That this has been the only return is my pride, and a source of more real satisfaction than honours or prosperity. I can practise before I am old the lessons I learned in my youth; nor shall I ever forget the words of my ancient monitor——

——————"'Tis the last key-stone
"That makes the arch: the rest that were put
"Are nothing till that comes to bind and shut.
"Then stands it a triumphal mark! then men
"Observe the strength, the height, the why, and when
"It was erected; and still walking under,
"Meet some new matter to look up and wonder!"

In the rejoinder to this letter the wary Junius was for the first time thrown off his guard, for he talks wildly about the folly of professions, while he himself is fighting under a mask, and roundly asserts that Mr. Wilkes is to be supported "as long as he is a thorn in the King's side." The keen, searching eye of Mr. Tooke, soon discovered the opening afforded him by his antagonist, and did not fail to take advantage of it.

"Sure this *Junius*," says he, "must imagine his readers as void of understanding as he is of modesty! Where shall we find the standard of his integrity? By what are we to measure the *conduct* of this lurking assassin?——And he says this to me,

whose conduct, wherever I could personally appear, has been as direct and open and public as my words: I have not, like him, concealed myself in my chamber, to shoot my arrows out of the window; nor contented myself to view the battle from afar; but publicly mixed in the battle, and shared the danger.

" To whom have I, like him, refused my name upon complaint of injury? What printer have I desired to conceal me? In the infinite variety of business I have been concerned, where it is not easy to be faultless, which of my actions can he arraign? To what danger has any man been exposed, which I have not faced? *Information, action, imprisonment*, or *death?* What labour have I refused? What expence have I declined? What pleasure have I not renounced? But Junius, *to whom no conduct belongs*, " measures the integrity of men by their conduct, not by their professions;" himself all the while being nothing but *professions*, and those too *anonymous!* The political ignorance, or wilful falsehood, of this *declaimer* is extreme: his own *former* letters justify both my conduct and those whom his *last* letter abuses; for the public measures which *Junius* has been all along defending, were ours whom he attacks; and the uniform opposer of those measures has been Mr. Wilkes, whose bad actions and intentions he endeavours to screen.

" Let Junius now, if he pleases, change his abuse, and, quitting his loose hold of interest and revenge, accuse me of vanity, and call this defence boasting. I own I have a pride to see statues decreed, and the highest honours conferred, for measures and actions which all men have approved; whilst those who counselled and caused them are execrated and insulted. The darkness in which Junius thinks himself shrouded, has not concealed him; nor the artifice of only attacking under that signature those he would pull down (whilst he recommends by other means those he would have promoted) disguise from me whose partizan he is.

" When Lord Chatham can forgive the aukwark situation in which, for the sake of the public, he was designedly placed by the thanks to him from the city; and when Wilkes' name ceases to be necessary to Lord Rockingham to keep up a clamour against the persons of the ministry, without obliging the different factions now in opposition to bind themselves before hand to some certain points, and to stipulate some precise advantages to the public; then, and not till then, may those whom he now abuses expect the approbation of Junius.

" The approbation of the public for our faithful attention to their interest, by endeavours for those stipulations which have made us as obnoxious to the factions in opposition, as to those in administration, is not perhaps to be expected till some years hence, when the public will look back and see how shamefully they have been deluded, and by what arts they were made to lose the *golden opportunity* of preventing what they will surely experience—a change of ministers, without a material change of measures, and without any security for a tottering constitution.

" But what cares Junius for the security of the constitution? He has *now* unfolded to us his diabolical principles. As a public man, he must ever condemn any measure which may tend accidentally to gratify the sovereign; and Mr. Wilkes is to be supported and assisted in all his attempts (no matter how ridiculous and mischievous his projects) *as long as he continues to be a thorn in the King's side!*——The cause of the country, it seems, in the opinion of Junius, is merely to *vex the King;* and any rascal is to be supported in any roguery, provided he can thereby plant a thorn in the King's side.——This is the very extremity of faction, and the last degree of political wickedness. Because Lord Chatham has been ill-treated by the King, and treacherously betrayed by the Duke of Grafton, the latter is to be the pillow on which Junius will " rest his resentment;" and the public are to oppose the measures of government from mere motives of personal enmity to the Sovereign!——These are the avowed principles of the man who, in the same letter, says, " if ever he " should be convinced that I had no motive but to destroy Wilkes, he shall then be " ready to do justice to my character, and to declare to the world, that he despises " me somewhat less than he does at present!" Had I ever acted from personal affection or enmity to Mr. Wilkes, I should justly be despised: but what does he deserve whose avowed motive is personal enmity to the Sovereign? The contempt which I should otherwise feel for the absurdity and glaring inconsistency of Junius, is here swallowed up in my abhorrence of his principle. The *right divine* and *sacredness of kings* is to me senseless jargon. It was thought a daring expression of Oliver Cromwell, in the time of Charles the First, that if he found himself placed opposite to the King in battle, he would discharge his piece into his bosom as soon as into any other man's. I go farther; had I lived in those days, I would not have waited for chance to give me an opportunity of doing my duty; I would have sought him through the ranks, and, without the least personal enmity, have discharged my piece into his bosom rather than into any other man's.

" The King, whose actions justify rebellion to his government, deserves death from the hand of every subject. And should such a time arrive, I shall be as free to act as to say. But till then, my attachment to the person and family of the Sovereign shall ever be found more zealous and sincere than that of his flatterers. I would offend the Sovereign with as much reluctance as the parent; but, if the happiness and security of the whole family made it necessary, so far and no farther, I would offend him without remorse."

This celebrated letter* was dated July 31, 1771, and to it no *direct* reply was given; indeed Junius did not resume his labours until August 15, when he addressed

* It constitutes Letter LIII. of the collection published by H. S Woodfall, in in 2 vols. 12mo.

an epistle—not to Mr. Horne, but "the Printer of the "Public Advertiser." This circumstance is alluded to in Mr. H's *parting* letter, dated August 17, 1771, in which he says,

"I congratulate you, Sir, on the recovery of your wonted style, though it has cost you a fortnight. I compassionate your labour in the composition of your letters, and will communicate to you the secret of my fluency. Truth needs no ornament; and, in my opinion, what she borrows of the pencil is deformity.

"You brought a positive charge against me of corruption. I denied the charge, and called for your proofs. You replied with abuse, and re-asserted your charge. I called again for proofs. You reply again with abuse only, and drop your accusation. In your fortnight's letter there is not one word upon the subject of my corruption.

"I have no more to say, but to return thanks to you for your condescention, and to a grateful public and honest ministry for all the favours they have conferred upon me. The two latter, I am sure, will never refuse me any grace I shall solicit; and, since you have been pleased to acknowledge that you told a deliberate lie in my favour out of bounty, and as a charitable donation, why may I not expect that you will hereafter (if you do not forget you ever mentioned my name with disrespect) make the same acknowledgement for what you have said to my prejudice?—This second recantation will perhaps be more abhorrent from your disposition; but should you decline it, you will only afford one more instance, how much easier it is to be generous than just, and that men are sometimes bountiful who are not honest.

"At all events, I am as well satisfied with your panegyric as Lord Chatham can be. Monument I shall have none; but over my grave it will be said, in your own words, "Horne's situation did not correspond with his intentions."

"JOHN HORNE."

From this contest the *recreant* Junius withdrew, not without some share of disgrace; and the writer who had foiled Sir William Draper, terrified Lord Mansfield, exposed the Duke of Grafton, and assailed the throne itself with a torrent of reproach, felt for the first time the hand of a master.

Soon after this new objects, and those of still greater importance, began to occupy the mind of Mr. Horne. The American war, that fruitful source of so many crimes and so many misfortunes, was now preparing to

deluge one country with blood and another with corruption. Among the most strenuous opposers of this measure, no one displayed more zeal, more ability, or more information, than the subject of this memoir. He considered the "war" on our part as a flagrant act of injustice; and what was stated to be "rebellion," he contemplated as a legal and constitutional resistance to oppression. Accordingly, when the skirmish at Lexington took place, he opened a subscription, and advertised in the public newspapers for the relief of our unfortunate brethren in America "basely murdered by the "British troops." No sooner had the present Mr. Pitt grown up to the age of manhood, and, like the Jewish legislator of old, got a glimpse of the *land of promise*, than he testified an equal degree of abhorrence, and expressed himself in language to the full as bold and decisive. Mark, however, the contrast, gentle Reader! the one rose to the very first offices in the state in consequence of his patriotism, and then forgot "the means "by which he did ascend," while the other was prosecuted by his Majesty's Attorney General, and committed to the King's Bench prison, where he suffered a long confinement.

All the avenues to clerical preferment being closed, and even the inclination perhaps annihilated, Mr. Horne had thrown off his gown, and *conceived* that he had become again a layman. He had accordingly resigned the chapelry of New Brentford, after having been in possession of it about eleven or twelve years, and now kept his *commons* regularly as a student of the Society of the Inner Temple.* For the profession of the bar no man, since the time of Lord Coke, has been better qualified either by nature or education, and no one has ever heard this gentleman speak, in public or in private, relative to questions, whether of technical import, or such as involve the objects of general justice, but must acknowledge that he would have made, what we have not pos-

* Mr. Horne Tooke entered himself of the Inner Temple in 1756.

sessed since the days of Glynn and Dunning, a great constitutional lawyer.

After his name had remained for a certain time on the books of the society, the day for a *call to the bar* at length elapsed; indeed the usual period was shortened in consequence of the degree of A. M. which he had obtained while at the university of Cambridge. To the surprise of the world, however, the Benchers of that inn objected to his admission—not on account of any deficiency in respect to abilities—not for want of recommendation—not in consequence of any suspicion annexed to his moral character, which has always been allowed to be unimpeachable—but because he had been in *holy orders!*

During a former period of our history, the clergy, being the only learned body of men in the nation, became the lawyers and the judges of the state, and to this very day the name* of one of the officers, and the *coifs* of all the Serjeants either on or off the bench, still testify the fact. Soon after the Reformation it became the policy of the times to separate the two professions, in such a manner that the all-grasping power of the church should not monopolize every thing both here and hereafter; but in the case of Mr. Tooke, a gentleman who had resigned his *preferment*, this policy ceased to operate, and the decision that secluded him from the operation of his functions in a new profession, was considered as highly barbarous and unjust. Indeed, although secret influence had been recurred to on this occasion, the vote of the Benchers was not *unanimous*, and more than one of them have since been candid enough to declare that they were misled, and most heartily repented of their conduct!

Although Mr. Tooke had formally excluded himself from the pulpit, and was prevented by a harsh and violent resolution from appearing at the bar; although he

* *Clerk* of the Court, from his being originally *Clericus*, or one in holy orders.

did not possess a seat in Parliament, either hereditary or elective, and was thus deprived of the usual means of announcing his opinions, yet his countenance and support were of considerable weight. This appeared evident on the coalition between Mr. Fox and Lord North; and it is not a little singular, that a Right Honourable Gentleman, during whose administration he was seized and tried for his life, with many circumstances of unexampled bitterness, after expressing the highest personal respect for him, at a public meeting actually conducted him to his carriage during a shower, and held his own hat over his head "for fear the winds of Heaven "should blow too rudely," declaring that he ought to be careful of the health of a man of such importance to the commonwealth!!!

In 1790, Mr. Tooke suddenly became a candidate for Westminster, at the same time with Mr. Fox and Lord Hood, who expected to be chosen without opposition.* On this occasion he did not declare his inten-

* The following is a copy of the memorable Petition presented soon after the election: it was of course considered by the Speaker as highly indecorous and scandalous:

"To the HONOURABLE the COMMONS of GREAT BRITAIN, in PARLIAMENT assembled.

"*The petition of* JOHN HORNE TOOKE, *Esq.*

"*Sheweth*,

"THAT your Petitioner now is, and at the time of the last election for Westminster was, an elector for Westminster, and a candidate to represent the said city and liberty in the present Parliament. That in the said city and liberty there are seventeen thousand two hundred and ninety-one householders, rated in the parish books unrepresented in Parliament, and without the means of being represented therein; although, by direct and indirect taxation, they contribute to the revenue of the state very considerably more than those who send an hundred members to Parliament. That at each of the three last elections for Westminster (viz. in 1784, in 1788, and in 1790) notoriously deliberate outrage, and purposely armed violence, was used; and at each of these elections murder was committed: That for these past outrages, as if there were no Attorney General, no government, and no legislature in the land, not the least redress has been obtained, nor the least punishment, nor even the least censure, inflicted

tions until the very morning of the poll, when the following hand bill made its appearance :

nor has any remedy whatever been appointed, or attempted, to prevent a repetition of similar outrages in future. That at the election for Westminster a scrutiny was demanded in behalf of Sir Cecil Wray, which was granted on the 17th of May 1784, and, with the approbation or direction of the then House of Commons, was continued till the 3d of March 1785, when a very small comparative progress having been made (viz. through the small parish of St. Anne, and not entirely through St. Martin's, leaving totally untouched the parishes of St. George's, St. James's, St. Margaret, St. John, St. Paul, Covent Garden, St. Mary le Strand, St. Clement, and St. Martin le Grand,) the said scrutiny was, by the direction or approbation of the House of Commons, relinquished without effect, after having lasted ten months, and with an expence to SIR CECIL WRAY of many thousand pounds more than appears, by some late proceedings in Chancery, to be the allowed average price of a *perpetual seat in the House of Commons, where seats for legislation are as notoriously, &c. &c.*

" That on the election for Westminster in 1788, there being an absolute and experienced impossibility of determining the choice of the electors by a scrutiny before the returning office, a petition against the return was presented to the then House of Commons by Lord Hood, and another petition also against the return was presented by certain electors of Westminster ; and a committee was consequently appointed, which commenced its proceedings on Friday, April the 3d, 1789, and continued till June 18th, 1789, when the committee, as able and respectable as ever were sworn to try and determine the matter of any petition, on their oaths, " Resolved, That from the progress which the committee have hitherto been able to make since the commencement of their proceedings, as well as from an attentive consideration of the different circumstances relating to the cause, a final decision of the business before them cannot take place in the course of the present session, and that not improbably the whole of the present Parliament may be consumed in a tedious and expensive litigation.—Resolved, That, from the necessary length of the proceeding, and from the approach of a general election, which must occur not later than spring 1791 (nearly two years more), the prosecution of the cause, on the part of the petitioners, promises to be fruitless, as far as it respects the representation of Westminster in the present Parliament.—Resolved, That it be recommended to the petitioners to withdraw their petitions under the special circumstances of the case." That, notwithstanding this extraordinary, and perhaps unparalleled, application from a court of justice to it suitors, Lord Hood and the other petitioners having refused to withdraw their respective petitions, the proceedings of the committee continued till July the 6th, 1789, when a very small comparative progress having been made, the petitioners, from a conviction of the impossibility of any decision by the committee were compelled to abandon their petitions without any effect, or tendency

" To the ELECTORS of WESTMINSTER.

" Gentlemen,

" I THINK it my duty on the present occasion to solicit your votes, to represent you in the ensuing Parliament.

" The evident junction of two contending parties, in order to seize, with an irresistible hand, the representation of the city of Westminster, and to deprive you even of that shadow of election to which they have lately reduced you, calls aloud on every independent mind to frustrate such attempts, and makes me, for the first time in my life, a Candidate.

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towards effect, after a tedious and expensive litigation of three months and three days, and with an expence to the petitioning candidate of more than 14,000*l.*

" That, under these circumstances, as the Petitioner declined demanding a scrutiny before the returning officer, so is he compelled to disclaim all scrutiny before a Committee of the House of Commons; for, although the act of the 10th of George III. by which the said committee is appointed, recites, in its preamble, that " Whereas the present mode of decision upon petitions, complaining of undue elections, or returns of members to serve in Parliament, frequently obstructs public business, occasions much expence, trouble, and delay to the parties, &c. for remedy thereof, &c."— yet it would be less expensive and less ruinous to the Petitioner to be impeached, even according to the present mode of conducting impeachments, and to be convicted too of real crimes, than to be guilty of attempting to obtain justice for himself, and the injured electors of Westminster, by the only mode which the new remedial statute of the 10th of George III. has appointed for that purpose, however well adapted that mode of decision may be to settle the disputed claims of the proprietors of small boroughs, for whose usurped and smuggled interests alone the framers of that bill, and of those bills which have since been built upon it, seem to have had any real concern.

" That by the 9th of Anne, chap. 5th, the right of electors (before unlimitted by qualification in the objects of their choice) is restricted, in cities and boroughs, to citizens and burgesses respectively, having an estate, freehold or copyhold, for their own respective lives, of the annual value of three hundred pounds above reprizes. That this very moderate restriction, however vicious in its principle, leaving all citizens and burgesses eligible possessing life estates, freehold or copyhold, of the annual value of three hundred pounds, will henceforth serve only as a snare to the candidate, and a mockery of the electors, if such candidate, possessing a life estate of three hun-

" I do not solicit your favour, but I invite you, and afford you an opportunity to do yourselves justice, and to give me an example (which was never more necessary) against the prevailing and destructive spirit of personal party, which has nearly extinguished all national and public principle.

" The enormous sums expended, and the infamous practices at the two last elections for Westminster—open bribery, violence, ... with the scandalous chicane of a tedious, unfinished, and ineffectual scrutiny, and a tedious, unfinished, and ineffectual petition—are too flagrant and notorious to be denied or palliated by either party; and the only refuge of each has been to shift off the criminality upon the other. Upon whom and how will they shift off the common criminality, equally heavy on them both, that neither of them has made even the smallest attempt, by an easy parliamentary and constitutional method, to prevent the repetition of such practices in future?

" If the revenue is threatened to be defrauded in the smallest article, law upon law, and statute upon statute, are framed from session to session without delay or intermisson. No right of the subject, however sacred, but must give way to revenue.—The country swarms with excisemen and informers to protect it. Conviction is sure

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dred pounds a year, must expend fifty thousand pounds (and there is no probable appearance that a hundred thousand pounds would be sufficient) in attempting, by a tedious, expensive, and ineffectual litigation, to sustain the choice of his constituents, and to prove himself duly elected.

" That though your Petitioner complains (as he hereby does) of the undue election and return of Lord Hood, and the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, to this present Parliament, for the city and liberty of Westminster, yet is your Petitioner, by a persecution and proscription of more than twenty years, disabled from making that pecuniary sacrifice, which by the present new mode of investigation is (and ought not to be) necessary effectually to prove such undue return; and yet your Petitioner fully trusts that, notwithstanding a very great majority of the House of Commons (for so it continues to be styled) are not, as they ought to be, elected by the . . . . . and must therefore naturally and necessarily have a . . . . . against a fair and real representation of the people, yet your Petitioner fully trusts, that he shall be able to lay before a committee, chosen and sworn to try and determine the matter of this petition, evidence of such a nature as the committee will, on their oaths, think proper to report to the House, some resolution, or resolutions, other than the determination of the return; and that the House will make such order thereon as to them shall seem proper.—— And your Petitioner doubts not, that as an elector at least, he shall in consequence receive such redress, as will be much more important to him, and to the electors of Westminster, than any determination of the return.

" John Horne Tooke."

—summary—speedy ;——the punishment—outlawry and death. Where, amongst all their hideous volumes of taxes and of penalties, can we find one solitary single statute to guard the Right of Representation in the People, upon which all the Right of Taxation depends?

" Your late representatives, and your two present candidates, have, between them, given you a complete demonstration, that the rights of electors (even in those few places where any election yet appears to remain) are left without protection, and their violation without redress. And for a conduct like this, they who have never concurred in any measure for the public benefit, they who have never concurred in any means to secure to you a peaceable and fair election, after all their hostilities come forward hand in hand, with the same general and hacknied professions of devotion to your interest, unblushingly to demand your approbation and support!

" Gentlemen, throughout the history of the world down to the present moment, all personal parties and factions have always been found dangerous to the liberties of every free people; but

THEIR COALITIONS,

unless resisted and punished by the public, certainly fatal. I may be mistaken, but I am firmly persuaded, that there still remains in this country a public both able and willing to teach its government, that it has other more important duties to perform besides the levying of taxes, creation of peerages, compromising of counties, and arrangement of boroughs. With a perfect indifference for my own personal success, I give you this opportunity of commencing that lesson to those in administration, which it is high time they were taught. The fair and honourable expences of an election (and of a petition too, if necessary) I will bear with cheerfulness. And if, by your spirited exertions to do yourselves right, of which I entertain no doubt, I should be seated as your representative, whenever you shall think you have found some other person likely to perform the duties of that station more honestly and usefully to the country, it shall without hesitation be resigned by me, with much greater pleasure than it is now solicited.

" I am, Gentlemen,

" Your most obedient servant,

" JOHN HORNE TOOKE.

" *Wednesday, June* 16."

Mr. Tooke was not successful on the present occasion; yet, when it is recollected that he possessed neither hereditary nor parliamentary interest; that he was supported by none of the great aristocratical families, who arrogate an influence in Westminster, but, on the contrary, had all their weight and consequence, in addition to that of the army, the navy, the public offices,

in short, the existing government, and even the opposition, to cope and contend with, this stand of a private individual, on his own character alone, must be allowed to have been memorable.

During a subsequent contest, when Sir Alan, now Lord Gardener, was the ministerial candidate, Mr. Tooke displayed his usual abilities, and experienced a similar result as before. Such, indeed, was the poignancy of his satire, that the gallant Admiral, who certainly did not come forward in the character of an independent man, whether his sinecure in the marines, or his immediate employment in the navy, be recollected, appeared confused and appalled; and the brave veteran, who had never shrunk from a contest with the foes of his country, seemed over-awed and crest-fallen in the presence of so superior an antagonist.*

* The following is one of the speeches delivered from the hustings upon this occasion; and, when sufficient allowance is made for the warmth of an election harangue, must be considered as not ill adapted to produce effect.

" I have more satisfaction from this day's poll, than all the days that are past; not because I have polled a greater number of votes, but because my poll continues steady. This poll shews a steady people; and the steadiness of that people is of more consequence than the gaining of any election. You have this day thrust down the Admiral one step. The Admiral tells me it is a very small step: it appears therefore he does not value very much being in your esteem. I trust you will go on, and give him an opportunity to shew the excellence of his temper, by trying how he will bear to be put down the other step.

" The Admiral has said nothing to you this day but to return you thanks, which he does not owe; for the numbers upon the poll are notoriously not given to Sir Allan Gardener, but to Mr. Pitt, the minister.

" The Admiral told you the other day (with what decorum you will consider) that he should much rather choose to be returned your representative in Parliament (which is merely a political situation;) he would much rather choose to be returned with the Right Honourable Gentleman, than with the other candidate, although at the same time he declared that he disliked the politics of the said Right Honourable Gentleman. He did not however add a single word of disparagement of the other whom he rejected as a colleague. I do not think he can. But if he

But to return to the Westminster election of 1790.

Mr. Tooke, notwithstanding a considerable majority in favour of Mr. Fox, presented a petition against that

can, or if those who sent him here can, I should be glad to hear it; and I think, after such a voluntary and uncalled-for declaration, he owes it, in his own justification, to you.

" In the mean time, I am left to find out the reason of his preference from the expressions which he has used. I am compelled to suppose, that the Baronet's reason is contained in the two words *Right Honourable*, for with these words he graced that Gentleman's name. A title before a name may be a very natural motive for a Baronet's preference in the choice of his colleague, but I will endeavour very shortly to convince you, that it would be a very bad motive for you in the choice of a representative, and I shall do it with greater satisfaction to myself, because Mr. Fox has a much better, and a much more solid, claim to your support; I mean that very opposition to the minister which the Baronet dislikes!

" In this country, if any of you have been at the parade, or at a review, you have seen the commanding officers standing gallantly before their men (as the candidates do here upon the hustings,) and giving the word of command in front; you are egregiously mistaken, however, if you suppose they do the same in time of action. No, Gentlemen; they then give the word of command from behind! This will always be the practice in all other services as well as the military, so long as favour, and birth, and title, and parliamentary corruption, and money, promote men to superior offices. The higher their station, the safer in time of action will be their situation.

" Now then, Gentlemen, look at the conduct of that enemy, from whom you may learn some other things more useful than the Telegraph which we have adopted: with them superior merit and bravery alone promote their private men from the ranks, and place them in command, and even at the head of armies. See the never-failing consequence of this practice in their last brilliant victory at Lodi, when a column of their bravest grenadiers were for a moment stopped, and hesitating at the furious cannonade of the Austrians, six of their generals rushed foremost at the head of the column, gave their command, and (what was better) their example, in *front*, and victory immediately followed.

" You, Gentlemen, the Electors of Westminster, and all the other electors throughout England, will do well to consider, and to ask yourselves these questions: In our present cruel struggle between Liberty and Slavery, who are the persons starving for want of bread? To whom do the ministry propose a substitute for bread? Who are the persons oppressed, beggared, dishonoured, vilified and ruined? Who are

gentleman; and on this having been declared "frivolous and vexatious" by a committee, a demand was made on the petitioner for certain damages* which were supposed to have ensued in consequence of his appeal to the House of Commons. This matter was at length referred to the courts below, and a trial of course took place in the King's Bench, which proved not a little memorable on account of the circumstances that attended it.

Mr. Tooke, who acted on this as on other occasions without recurring to the aid of counsel, addressed the jury in a long and able speech, in which he endeavoured to impress on their minds, that there were only three efficient and necessary parties in the present cause: Mr. Fox, the plaintiff; himself, the defendant; and them-

languishing and rotting in their gaols? [*A voice from the crowd said*, Horne Tooke.] —It is true, I have been frequently in prison; but at present I had forgotten myself, I was thinking only of you. I wish you to consider, who are sentenced to be flogged to death? or are tortured (the cruellest of all torture) with putrid diseases in their prisons? Who are sent as felons to Botany Bay? Who are cast into dungeons, and treated and tried as traitors? [*Many persons present exclaimed*, "The People!"]—— Gentlemen, you say true. It is so. It is we; we the privates in the ranks. Where all this while were our political Generals? Where were our Right Honourable and Honourable Representatives? Behind, safe in the rear, reposing on their beds of of pension and privilege. Gentlemen, believe me, you cannot possibly have the smallest chance, you cannot reasonably even entertain the smallest hope, of success, unless at your elections you pass by these Lords and Lordships, these Barons and Baronets, and choose for yourselves Representatives amongst the Privates in the Ranks."

* Mr. Garrow stated for the plaintiff, in the Court of King's Bench, "that this action was brought to recover the sum of 1981. 2s. 2d. the taxed costs of a petition which had been presented by the defendant to the House of Commons, and which by a committee of that house was voted *frivolous and vexatious*." To this declaration the defendant pleaded, that he owed nothing to the plaintiff, and thereupon issue was joined. M. Erskine, another of the plaintiff's counsel, after observing that the act did not entitle them to enter into a discussion of the merits, called Mr. Dunn, who proved that the warrant, containing a certificate of the expences, had been signed by the Speaker of the House of Commons: an examined copy of the Journals of the House was also produced, by way of ascertaining that the petition had been voted *frivolous and vexatious*.

selves, the gentlemen of the jury. "The judge and the crier of the court," added he, "attend alike in their respective situations, and they are paid by us for their attendance: we pay them well: they are hired to be the assistants and reporters, but they are not, and they were never intended to be, the controllers of our conduct." This was not a trial, he observed, between Mr. Fox and him about the trifling sum of two hundred pounds; that was by no means the ultimate object: a great and important national right was at stake; the last and only security which the full-grown corruption and iniquity of the times had left to the people of the land for their lives, their liberties, and their fortunes; this last and only security, "a real trial by a jury of our countrymen, is now attempted to be wrested from us."

After entering into a variety of curious and interesting details relative to the two prevailing parties of the day, which a change of circumstances and of times precludes the necessity of dwelling on with an invidious pertinacity, Mr. Tooke complained of the crimes implied in the words "frivolous and vexatious," invented in 1789, the judgment and application of which were reserved for another tribunal: this action of debt he considered as a penalty for the commission of a new offence; the act itself, he said, was a *spring-gun*, and spoke plain language, not to be misunderstood: "Tread not near our boroughs, for woe to the man in future who shall be caught in our traps, *our frivolous and vexatious traps*."

After a variety of pointed animadversions, the defendant read his Petition to the House of Commons, and then produced a very apposite passage from Blackstone's Commentaries on the trial by jury, concluding an able and elaborate speech in nearly the following words:

"Now I desire you will reflect what proofs of the debt have been brought before you? An examined copy of the Journals of the House of Commons, and the Speaker's certificate, have been produced. But what are you to try and examine? The

Speaker's cercificate? If the Speaker's certificate is sufficient to take away our property, why should not the Speaker's certificate be followed by an execution? What occasion is there to call a jury together to try nothing; and yet to make them solemnly swear to try *well and truly?* I ask again, unless it was for the purpose of perjuring a jury, why might not the execution have immediately followed the Speaker's certificate, as well as your verdict? Why? there was no reason upon earth but one —It was done to colour the transaction. They are not yet quite ripe enough to strip from us at once (and let us know it at the time) our right to a trial by jury. But they have completely done it in effect. They have left us the jury, but taken away the trial!

"They have, by a subterfuge, taken away the trial, which is the important part, and left us the jury, which, without trial, is a mere mockery.

"As men then, as Englishmen, as Christians, or if you have any sense of any other tie or religion, you are compelled to pay a sacred regard to that oath which you have sworn; *that you will well and truly try*, and that your verdict shall only be in consequence of having well and truly tried the merits of the question.——Where crime is the question, the jury must judge of the guilt charged, and of its extent: and in actions for property, they must judge whether any thing is really due, and to what amount; for if the jury are not to try, and decide upon the whole merits of the question before them, no man in this country can be safe in life or property for ever hereafter. Gentlemen, you are all strangers to me. You ought to be, and I believe you to be, twelve good and honest men: and if you are so, and act and do your duty accordingly, I will venture to say that you will sleep this night more happily, and with more satisfaction, than ever you slept in your lives."

Such an impression did this speech make on the jury, although it was, as the lawyers term it, *in the very teeth of an act of parliament*, that they could not agree in their decision while in court, but retired to consider of it; and, after an interval of four hours and twenty minutes, returned *a verdict for the plaintiff*.

"Thus ended a cause," according to a periodical work of the time, "which will be equally memorable, on account of the circumstances that gave rise to, and those which accompanied it; a cause, in the course of which the defendant, in the first common law court in the kingdom, and in the face of the whole world, accused a Judge of the denial of justice, the two great parties in the kingdom of a wretched struggle for a sordid and precarious enjoyment of power, place, and emolument, and a House of Commons of England of gross and flagrant corruption."

At the commencement of the revolution in France, a new order of things took place in this country as well as in that. There, every member of the state was relaxed and palsied; here, they were perhaps attempted to be stretched to an unusual and unnatural degree of tension: in both, "terror" soon became *the order of the day*.

A number of societies at that period existed among us, the end and aim of which were professed to be parliamentary reform; a cause abetted, invigorated, and supported, by the masculine talents of the very gentleman who at that time held the reins of government under the title of Chancellor of the Exchequer. These societies now became the objects of ministerial jealousy. Plots being reported to have been hatched by them, in order to subvert the executive government, and extinguish the monarchy, associations for the support of the state were entered into, the *Habeas Corpus* bill was suspended, and the Tower was actually fortified! In addition to this, warrants were issued with the same profusion here as *Lettres de Cachet* had been in France under the despotic sway of the house of Bourbon; and Mr. Tooke, among others, was taken prisoner at his house at Wimbledon, his papers were sealed up, and he himself committed a close prisoner.

For delinquents of this description the ordinary course of law was considered as too slow in its process, and accordingly, on the 10th of September 1794, a SPECIAL COMMISSION of Oyer and Terminer was issued. On Thursday, October 2, it was opened at the Sessions House, Clerkenwell, in the presence of Sir James Eyre, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir Archibald Macdonald, Knight, Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, &c. The speech of the former of these Judges to the Grand Jury on this occasion, has been severely stigmatised, as tending to renew the odious and long since exploded doctrines of *cumulative and constructive treasons*, which criminate by *inuendo*, and would inflict punishments for *implied* guilt.

On Monday, October 6, the Grand Jury found a *true bill* against all the prisoners except one.* On the 13th the Solicitor to the Treasury delivered to each of them a copy of the indictment, a list of the jurors impannelled by the Sheriff, and of the witnesses to be produced on the part of the crown; on the 24th they were removed by *Habeas Corpus* to the Tower, and on the 25th they were arraigned before Lord Chief Justice Eyre, and severally pleaded *not guilty* to the indictment, which charged them,

1. With withdrawing their allegiance from the King:

2. With endeavouring to excite rebellion and war against his Majesty, in order to subvert and alter the legislature, and depose his said Majesty:

3. With preparing and composing certain books, resolutions, and instructions, and traitorously causing and procuring the same to be published: And

4. With maliciously and traitoriously procuring and providing arms and offensive weapons, to wit, guns, muskets, pikes, and axes, to levy and wage insurrection and rebellion against our said Lord the King, &c.

On Monday, November 17, the trial of Mr. Horne Tooke came on, and continued during that and the five following days.

Soon after Mr. Tooke's being brought to the bar, he was allowed to sit near his counsel, in consequence of what he would not term an "indulgence," but a "right." When several of the jury wished to be excused on account of ill health, this excuse was supported by the prisoner, who addressed the bench as follows:

* Thomas Lovett.

"I, for my part, hope, that no infirm gentleman shall be taken upon this jury, because I had rather die where I stand, than consent that the jury and the judge should quit this place till the cause is gone through. I do therefore beg that the jurors may be men in health, that they may not suffer in doing their duty, but that I may be the first victim. The law never intended that the crime of high treason, which ought to lie in the palm of your hand, should take up five days in the proof; therefore I beg your Lordship will be so good as to let me die in this place, rather than that the whole criminal law and practice of this country should be destroyed."

The Solicitor General, in a speech of *several hours*, endeavoured to maintain "the existence of a plot to subvert and alter the legislature, rule, and government of the kingdom, and to depose the King from his royal state, power, and government." A variety of papers were produced; the books of the Society for Constitutional Information were brought forward, and its secretary, and a number of other witnesses, were examined at the bar: but nothing was adduced that exhibited even a shadow of either conspiracy or guilt! On the contrary, the innocence of the prisoner became conspicuous, and he himself was so much at ease, notwithstanding a very bad state of health, that he afterwards declared, in the presence of the narrator, "if the song which was brought forward on the trial of Mr. Hardy had been produced against him, he was determined to have *sang it*; for," added he, "as there was no treason in the *words*, I should have left it to a jury of my countrymen to have declared, whether there was any in the *tune!*"

Mr. Erskine, in a very able and eloquent speech, asserted it to be the office of the jury to decide whether the record, *inseparable in its members*, was true or false. "My whole argument has only been, and still is," said he, "that the intention against the King's life is the crime, that its existence is matter of fact and not matter of law, and that it must therefore be collected by you, Gentlemen of the Jury, instead of being made the abstract result of a legal proposition, from any fact which does not directly embrace and comprehend the intention which constitutes the treason."

The reply on the part of the Attorney General was more remarkable for its *length* than its effect. One memorable circumstance however occurred, for that officer of the crown, who now presides in a much higher department, appears on this occasion to have surrendered the long contested point about *royal inviolability*, as he asserted (at least according to the printed trial*) "that if the King were to take a different parliament than what the law and constitution of England had given him, *he ought to lose his life; and I trust*," added he, "*would be willing to lose his life rather than act contrary to his coronation oath.*"

On this Mr. Tooke, with his usual readiness, exclaimed, "What! is the Attorney General talking treason? I should be unhappy to mistake you (addressing himself to Sir John Scott)—Did you say the King ought to lose his life if he took any other parliament?"

After the merits of the cause had been fairly, fully, and amply canvassed, Mr. Tooke called a number of respectable persons to testify to his character, both public and private, for a series of years; and the jury, having withdrawn for only *eight minutes*, delivered in a verdict of *not guilty* by their foreman, to the evident satisfaction of the audience, as well as of the populace, with which the adjoining streets were crowded.

As soon as a calm had ensued, Mr. Tooke addressed himself to the court, and observed, "that his mind was better formed to feel and to acknowledge kindness than to solicit it."

"To prevent the prosecution of other persons for libel," said he, "I myself have suffered a prosecution for high treason: I return your Lordship thanks: I return my counsel thanks, my noble friend Mr. Erskine, who has been so nobly supported by Mr. Gibbs; and you, gentlemen of the jury, I return you my thanks. I am glad I have been prosecuted; and I hope this will make the Attorney General more cauti-

* See "The Trial of John Horne Tooke, for High Treason, at the Sessions House in the Old Baily, &c. taken in short hand by Joseph Gurney." 2 vols. 8vo.

ous in future: he said he would have no treason by construction; and there is no suspicion against me but by construction and inference."

The conduct, ability, eloquence, and innocence of this gentleman, when added to his acknowledged worth, his high character, his respectable appearance, and his long, rigorous, and, as it may be now fairly inferred, his unjust imprisonment, produced a marked impression even on his enemies. Many of his friends burst into tears, and even some of the minions of power, forgetting themselves for a moment, testified an involuntary joy at his deliverance.

Having hitherto considered Mr. Tooke in the character of a statesman and politician only, it now becomes necessary to say something of him as an author and a man of letters.

During his imprisonment in the King's Bench, on account of his attack on a ministry of whose conduct and principles its surviving partisans cannot now reflect without blushing, and on a war allowed by its successors to be both impolitic and unjust, Mr. Tooke applied himself once more to the study of philology, and evinced how well he was calculated to discuss this subject, in "a Letter to John Dunning, Esq. afterwards Lord Ashburton.*

After an interval of a few years appeared "the Diversions of Purley †," so called from being written at Purley, the seat of Mr. Tooke, a very respectable gentleman, whose name he has adopted in addition to his own.

* This year (1778) the Rev. Mr. Horne published his "Letter to Mr. Dunning, on the English Particle." Johnson read it, and, though not treated in it with sufficient respect, he had candour enough to say to Mr. Seward, "Were I to make a new edition of my Dictionary, I would adopt several of Mr. Horne's etymologies: I hope they did not put the dog in the pillory for his libel; he has too much literature for that."

Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. ii. p. 266.

† The first edition was published in 1786.

In this work he displayed an uncommon fund of genius and erudition, and stamped his character as the first philologist of the age. Even the zealots of despotism, who detest his politics, cannot refuse an unwilling assent to this unequivocal display of his talents.

In 1787, when the nation was alarmed with the intelligence of the union of a great personage with a lady supposed to be of the Roman Catholic persuasion, appeared "a Letter to a Friend, on the reported Marriage of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, by Mr. Horne Tooke." On this occasion it was humorously remarked "that the author, after amusing himself with a number of critical discussions during the preceding summer, on the subject of nouns, pronouns, adverbs, and prepositions, in order to give a variety to his studies during the present, had taken a *political* but very *uncourtly* view of the nature, the extent, and the true signification of the *conjunction copulative*."

Mr. Tooke on this occasion saw reason to attack the policy, the propriety, and the justice of the celebrated marriage act, ridiculed the idea "that a beautiful English woman is unworthy to be the companion of an English prince," as a degrading notion, unknown to, and unpractised by, our ancestors. In the course of his attack on the 12th of George III. which passed some time after the marriages of their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland, he allows it to be "an act of parliament," but denies it to "have the *smallest force of law*; for," adds, he, "there are acts of parliament which are not LAWS." He then instances "an act passed but a few years since, which directed the justices of the peace to take *forty* shillings out of *twenty*. Could this act," adds he, "be a law?" Certainly not (any reader but a *very uncommon one* will reply,) while the absurdity that had thus crept into it continued to exist; and thus far the act alluded to was, to all intents and purposes, a *dead letter*, till the removal of the mistake by a subsequent act, founded on the same prin-

ciples as the former, but free from that palpable error which, *prima facie*, rendered it for a time a legislative *nonentity*." In order to sanction and elucidate this doctrine, he recurred to the opinion of Lord Coke in the case of Bonham, in which that great lawyer observes, "it appeareth in our books, that in many cases the common law doth controul acts of parliament, and sometimes shall adjudge them to be void; for when an act of parliament is against common right and reason, or repugnant or impossible to be performed, the common law shall controul it, and adjudge such act to be void."

While treating on a subject, which in consequence of subsequent events has long since ceased to be interesting, and which we now notice merely on account of the celebrity of the author, he freely talks about "persons from the *stable*, the *gaming-house*, and the *counting-house*, who absurdly imagine that they have only to pass an act, and that such act will, or ought, or can, bind the subject in all cases whatsoever." He also observes that "he should be more than willing, even anxious, to barter the papist marriage for the responsibility of counsellors, and the independence of the representative body; being much more easily contented to trust the sovereign with a PAPIST WIFE than with a CORRUPT PARLIAMENT, although," adds he, "some consciences I know will be straining at a gnat, and popery is now become no more, whilst they gulp down greedily the camel of corruption, which is now become a monster."

In 1788 appeared "Two PAIR OF PORTRAITS, presented to all the unbiassed Electors of Great Britain; and especially to the Electors of Westminster. By John Horne Tooke, an Elector of Westminster." On this occasion Mr. Tooke himself will perhaps now allow, that he painted Mr. Pitt with *too fanciful a pencil*, while he at the same time distorted the features of a great commoner, who has acted of late in such a manner as doubtless to attract his applause, and washed

away the remembrance of the ever to be deplored coalition with the *ostensible* author of the American war, by a life devoted to the service of his country.

In 1798 appeared the second edition of his celebrated work, entitled ΕΠΕΑ ΠΤΕΡΟΕΝΤΑ, or the Diversions of Purley, with the following dedication:

TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,

ONE OF HER GRATEFUL SONS, WHO ALWAYS CONSIDERS ACTS OF VOLUNTARY JUSTICE TOWARDS HIMSELF AS FAVOURS,* DEDICATES THIS HUMBLE OFFERING. AND PARTICULARLY TO HER CHIEF ORNAMENT FOR VIRTUE AND TALENTS, THE REVEREND DOCTOR BEADON, MASTER OF JESUS COLLEGE.

We are now to consider Mr. Tooke as a legislator.

It has been already stated, that he had stood twice, and been twice unsuccessful, in his contest for the city of Westminster; it so happened, however, that early in 1801 he was elected to represent Old Sarum, in the county of Wilts. This ancient and decayed borough, is said to be under the influence of a noble Lord, nearly related to Mr. Pitt, and brother-in-law to Lord Grenville; it therefore excited no small degree of surprise when Mr. Tooke, who had been imprisoned and tried for his life during their administration, took the oaths and his seat in the House of Commons, on Monday Fe-

* Notwithstanding the additional authority of Plato's despicable saying, *Cum omnibus solvam quod eum omnibus debeo* †; the assertion of Machiavel, that *Nissuno confessera mai haver obligo con uno chi non l'offenda* ‡; and the repetition of it by Father Paul, that *Mai alcuno si pretende obligato a chi l'habbi fatto giustitia; stimandolo tenuto per se stesso di farla* §; are not true. They are not true either with respect to nations or to individuals: for the experience of much injustice will cause the forbearance of injury to appear like kindness.

† *Senec. de benefic.* lib. vi. ‡ *Discor.* lib. i. c. xiv.

§ *Opinione de Trea. Prol.*

bruary 16, 1801; and this was in no degree abated by the *friendly greetings* of the new Speaker, as it was in the remembrance of every one, that three years had not elapsed since the right honourable and learned gentleman had endeavoured, in a speech of five hours, to subject the new member to all the penalties of high treason!

On the very same day that Mr. Tooke occupied his seat for Old Sarum, Lord Temple, son of the Marquis of Buckingham (a nobleman supposed also to exercise a species of *patronage* similar to that of his noble relative, Lord Camelford,) rose and said, "that in consequence of having seen a gentleman sworn in, whom he considered as not legally qualified to sit in that house, if no petition was presented against his election, he conceived it to be his duty to move the house to take the return into consideration."

On Thursday, February 19, when Mr. Sturt made his motion relative to the failure of the Ferrol expedition, Mr. Tooke spoke in favour of an inquiry with equal temper and ability. He observed, that he was astonished when an attempt of this kind was endeavoured to be resisted, more especially at a time "when the House of Commons was so ready to sit in judgment on the borough of Old Sarum, and the representative elegibility of an *old priest*." Towards the conclusion he begged leave, with his usual humour, to ask "what kind of infection he could produce in that house? and whether a quarantine of thirty years was not sufficient to guard against the infection of his original character?"

Mr. Tooke did not remain an idle member, but took every opportunity to express his sentiments in an open and manly manner, without any reference to party or connection. On the 5th of March, on the second reading of the new "poor relief bill," originally proposed by the Duke of Bedford, and rejected by the Commons because it was a *money bill*, but now brought in by one

of their own members*, he strongly opposed this measure. He declared himself an enemy to every departure from established and approved principles; this measure in fact went to create two different sorts and classes of paupers; to wit, paupers receiving alms, and paupers released from the obligation of paying them. He was for increasing the price of labour to its due proportion to the necessaries of life, and he wished the poor "to receive the full price of their earnings, not in the shape of alms but of hire."

When the house was in a committee on the high price of provisions,† after Mr. Wilberforce had sat down, Mr. Tooke rose and spoke as follows:

"Sir,

"I am poorly qualified, and I can be little expected to deliver an opinion upon any agricultural subject. In a committee, however, it is not necessary to make a studied harangue, and I shall now say a few words without fear of exposing myself. It appears to me, Sir, that your committees, with very good intentions, do a very great deal of mischief. They want information, they want sagacity, they want foresight. Had I had the honour to have been a member during the last session of Parliament, the *poisoning bill* (for I cannot call it the brown bread bill)—the poisoning bill should have had my most strenuous opposition. The first Parliament of the united kingdom have given a favourable specimen of their talents for legislating, by making the repeal of it the first of their acts. Under the names of charity, humanity, and benevolence, it was calculated to prove the ruin of thousands.

"All your measures have been of a similar stamp; far from producing any beneficial effects, they are fruitful sources of mischief. Sir, it is idle now to think of keeping down the price of provisions: you cannot keep it down, and your aukward attempts will only make it rise the faster. Look back to the earliest times, and you see it constantly rising, and this cause continues to operate with increased force. It is in vain then to struggle with inevitable necessity. You will only heap abuse upon abuse. Remove the national debt, repeal the taxes, and then you may hope to see things at a moderate price; but while you daily add to the amount of these, to entertain such a hope is madness. By this absurd and ineffectual attempt, the public distresses are rendered far more severe. The true friends to their country will allow things to rise in their natural course. By thus doing nothing they will do every thing. They will avoid a thousand errors, they will save millions of lives.

* Lord William Russel, the Duke's brother.

† On Monday, March, 2.

"Sir, in my humble opinion, however paradoxical it may appear, you ought to try to raise the price of every thing. This doctrine may seem extraordinary, but it may be right for all that; and I shall at all times be ready to defend it. Notwithstanding all that has been said, I am a great enemy to innovation. I hate *innovation* in all things, in church, in state, and in agriculture. My *vital christianity* teaches me to love every thing that is established. Do I examine the attachment I ought to have to any system or practice, I do not examine its intrinsic merits, but I say to myself—Is it established? Though a much better might be pointed out to me, still I think it ought to be adhered to, and that no rash experiment should be hazarded. These are my opinions—these have ever been my opinions. I have long been in public life; I have spoken a good deal, and written still more. But let any one examine my speeches and publications with the greatest minuteness, and I defy him to shew that I ever expressed a sentiment contrary to what I now utter. Those principles, Sir, compel me to disapprove of this measure; I cannot consent to see the system of agriculture changed; I cannot consent to see a man obliged to pay a premium against himself. It makes little difference whether the people pay more for the potatoes, or pay an additional tax for a bounty to produce them. But it is idle thus to think of lowering the price. If you wish to promote the comfort of the poor, raise as speedily as possible the price of labour. It is far too low, and must soon rise in spite of you. Though not young, I am not very old, and within my recollection the price of labour has been trebled. Effects will still follow causes, and it must soon advance much further. Why then struggle against a necessity which no human power can controul, and no human ingenuity elude? Where will the storm fall? I allow it must at last fall somewhere, and I say it must fall upon the public creditor. A man lends 100*l.* to government, and gets three per cent. for it. If the quartern loaf is at 6d. he gets 120 loaves a year, but *now* he gets only forty or fifty, and in a short time he may not get twenty. Thus, in the course of things he may be altogether ruined. The poor will not ultimately suffer, for their wages will be increased in proportion. The landed interest will not suffer, for their rents will be increased in proportion. The revenue will not suffer, for in the same proportion the ability of the people to contribute will be increased. The mischief will only fall upon the holders of stock, and as they are not a very numerous set of men, it will not be difficult to relieve them. These steps seem to be taken to prevent the monied interest from being alarmed. They certainly would be less willing to advance their money, but it is unfair thus to try to deceive them."

Mr. Tooke then entered into some calculations, to shew the propriety of raising the supplies within the year, and the dreadful consequences which must follow from the augmentations made to the national debt. He concluded by apologizing for so long occupying the time of the committee, and expressed a hope "that his errors might lead some one to the discovery of truth." The House then divided.—Ayes 39—Noes 44—Majority 5.

On Tuesday, March 10, 1801, Lord Temple rose in his place, to make his long promised motion relative to Mr. Tooke's *eligibility*, and began by professing, "That nothing but his duty to the house, and respect for its institutions, *along with his regard for the representation of the people*, could have impelled him to undertake so arduous a discussion. He also professed that he entertained no personal animosity against Mr. T. whom he was pleased to designate by the term of "Reverend Gentleman."

"To attack a person of such strong mind and abilities upon such a subject, was a bold attempt, but he had such proofs of ineligibility against him, that it was impossible to fail. Whatever might be the ultimate opinion of the house, he should be consoled by the recollection of having discharged his duty as became him. The question must be decided by the rules of the constitution made by our ancestors; by those rules the people had been represented for centuries. If the house considered themselves, which he trusted they would, the guardians of the people's rights and liberties, they would at the same time recollect that those rights and liberties were sacred deposits, which they were bound to protect against all innovation, and to transmit them pure and unsullied as they had been received."

His Lordship then proceeded to state, that innovations were dangerous in most systems, but particularly in those which had the sanction of ages in their favour: in this light stood the House of Commons of this country. One of the most solemn of its acts related to its own members, and the qualifications of those members—that act most expressly declares, in as plain and unequivocal language as words can express, *that no person who either is or has been in priest's orders, or held any office of the church, can possibly be a member of the House of Commons*. He should prove in the most clear and incontestible manner, that Mr. H. Tooke had received priest's orders; he should also make it equally

clear, that he had discharged the functions vested in him by those orders, and when he had proved these facts, he trusted he had proved enough to induce the house to acquiesce in the motion he should afterwards make, of referring the investigation of other points to a committee. At present he should content himself with moving, "That William Bourchier, Esq. clerk of the diocese of Salisbury, be examined at the bar, whether or not Mr. Horne Tooke had received priest's orders and whether or not he had exercised the clerical function, in consequence of having received these orders."

After a few words from Mr. Fox, in which he gave it as his opinion that the noble Lord had not made out a case strong enough to go into evidence, and that it was rash and impolitic to discuss facts of the nature of which the house could not be aware, Mr. John Horne Tooke spoke as follows:

"Mr. Speaker,

"I rise to resist the motion which you lately put from the chair; not that I desire to delay the discussion of this question. My only wish is that the discussion may be full and fair. I am as eager as any one that complete information upon the subject may be received, and any proper motion that has this for its object, I shall willingly support. Before I enter into the question, I beg the house to recollect the previous proceedings. About three weeks ago the noble lord gave notice, that if in the course of fifteen days no petition was presented to the house, he should make a motion with regard to the representation of Old Sarum. [Some one having called out "No!" Mr. T. exclaimed, "I say yes!"] "This was the nature of the notice, and it is in the memory of the house, that it is as I have stated it. On the fifteenth and sixteenth days I attended in my place, but nothing whatever was said. On the seventeenth, I was obliged to be absent from severe indisposition, and when I came down on the eighteenth, I found that the noble lord had given notice of a motion for the 10th of March, respecting the eligibility of "the Rev. John Horne Tooke." His lordship came up to me in a very polite manner, and handsomely told me what he had done. His conduct certainly, Sir, would have been more handsome, if subsequent proceedings had corresponded with this. When I asked him what the nature of his promised motion would be? he said there was a difficulty about it, as the lawyers were not agreed. This was the eighteenth day after that on which I took my seat, and still the noble lord and his advisers remained undetermined! His lordship, however, assured me, that if I should attend in my place next day, I should hear all the particulars, and

when I mentioned my illness to him, he promised to inform me by letter. The following day I was able to attend in person, but no explanation took place. The noble lord made a motion for calling witnesses to the bar. I told him I would save him the trouble, as I frankly confessed that I had been ordained a priest more than forty years ago. It was declared from the chair, that this would not be sufficient. For forty years I have been in the habit of attending to the proceedings of Parliament. I have been often present in this house; I have been called to your bar. I have been brought to it in the custody of the serjeant at arms. I must therefore know something of parliamentary forms; and I do not hesitate to declare, that it has always been the practice to receive admissions. Indeed what can this house have so worthy to be relied upon? It is never so well off as *habens confitentem reum*. You cannot administer an oath, and must be contented with simple affirmation. When an unhappy printer is brought to be examined, he is asked, whether he is guilty of printing the libel laid to his charge, and upon his confession, he is instantly sent where he deserves to go.

" I believe that fairness and justice call upon the house to repel this motion, unless the noble lord shall explain more fully how he intends to proceed. He has not kept the promise which he made me. These lawyers I suspect, have advised him to break it. He says he would treat his most intimate acquaintance and dearest friend exactly in the same way. For his own sake, Sir, I would hope that he would not. When he is moved neither by enmity nor profit, should he tamper with the lawyers to find out a flaw in other people's titles? I formerly gave credit to his professions: I now withdraw it, as it was improperly bestowed. I do not say that he is my personal enemy. I do not believe, Sir, that I have a personal enemy in the world. He bears towards me, Sir, violent political animosity.—[*A cry of order! order!*]—I beg pardon, Sir, if I am out of order; I am sure I should be sorry to be so, but it is not easy to remain cool after the manner in which the noble lord has talked of my character, my politics, my principles, and my past conduct. He desired you to keep these out of view: I desire, Sir, that they may all be taken into consideration, the more they are scrutinized I shall be the better pleased. You are bound to consider these topics before you come to a just conclusion, and I am at a loss what could be the noble lord's motive for giving you such advice.

" I apprehend that the lawyers are at the bottom of this motion of the noble lord's. I know well the modes which these gentlemen pursue, in striving to accomplish their ends. Do not let me be misunderstood, Sir. I love and honor the profession. I had once a near prospect of becoming a member of it. About five and forty years ago, I believe the very term in which the present Chief Justice of the King's Bench entered as a student, I myself was enrolled. I reverence the profession of the lawyers, I wish to God I could always approve of their practice. Their motto I must say, however, is *dolus an virtus*. About the justice of the cause in which they engage, they are not over solicitous, nor are they very scrupulous about the means they employ to gain

their ends. They seem here to have wished to make a jumble, a bustle, and a scramble, and by throwing every thing into confusion to get a lumping vote. From the practice, I must necessarily infer, that this has been the advice, and that these have been the advisers.

" The result of this discussion is of no great consequence to me. However, I reckon myself bound to resist acts of injustice and oppression, that they may not be drawn into a precedent.

" I shall therefore state the question, and nothing more on my part I trust will be necessary. I shall be able, I hope, to place it in so clear a light, that it will be understood by any country gentleman, or even by any lady, as well as the profoundest lawyer. If the house is to determine whether a person who has once been in orders can sit here, it is their duty first to consider whether there is any specific law against it. That this question must be decided in the negative is pretty clear, from the line of conduct which has been pursued this day. To what other law are you next to resort? You surely will not rely implicitly upon the opinions of counsel, however highly you may think of their knowledge, integrity, and disinterestedness.

" Five questions immediately present themselves, for this grand question is the the fruitful mother of many more. I should be very happy, Sir, if all these five were decided against me, for if one of them is decided in my favour all is lost, *ipso facto*, down go the contest and the controversy. The question is at present so confused and perplexed, that all must be puzzled with it. It puzzled me, Sir, for some time: at last I succeeded in reducing it to distinct heads. We must now have recourse to the Canon law; and ask, in the first place, whether the Canon law legally binds the proceedings of the house? I have no intention whatever, Sir, to discuss the point. I merely wish to shew the enquiries the house must enter into, before they come to a determination.

" We next examine whether the Canon law is binding upon the clergy in the profession and out of it, in their civil as well as religious capacity? In the third place, is the Canon law binding upon me, who have long ceased to officiate as a priest, and have long laid down that sacred character? Two others still remain behind equally difficult of solution, and equally necessary to be solved. Is it possible for any one who has once entered into holy orders again to become one of the laity, or is it once a captain and always a captain! I know there are three canons on this subject:—One says a clergyman shall not bear arms; another, a clergyman shall not be a civil magistrate; and a third, that a clergyman shall not use himself as a layman. Clerical representatives of the people have not certainly been very common, but we have clerical volunteers, and clerical justices of the peace. The two first canons are therefore kept back, and the last only is relied on. It is then to be determined whether a clergyman by having a seat in the house, does or does not use himself as a layman.

I said I would not argue these points: I throw out these things for the consideration of the learned gentlemen over the way, and I wish them fully to consider this statement. I have great faith to put in their opinion, let them therefore declare their judgment before the house comes to a final decision.

"Having said so, I cannot help adverting to some things that fell from the noble lord. It must be allowed that he displayed a liberal, generous, and elevated spirit! At the same time, I hope the house will pay little regard to his *boasted stake* in the country. I too have a stake in the country, and a deep stake; it is not stolen to be sure from *the public hedge*, for I planted it myself. This stake, Sir, I would not exchange for all the *notes* of the noble lord, together with the *notes* of all his connections. In this too I think mine is different from his, and far to be preferred to it: his cannot be increased without detracting from the public stock. Mine is my character, and I cannot add to it without having added to the information, comfort, and happiness of the people."

Lord Temple having persevered in his intentions, witnesses were accordingly called to the bar, and examined relative to the fact of Mr. Tooke's having been in priest's orders. On the 4th of May, the same nobleman moved "*the order of the day*, for the house to take into consideration the report of the Committee on the eligibility of Mr. Tooke to sit in Parliament." This being done, after some prefatory compliments to the Committee, and particularly the Chairman,* his lordship went at large into the question, and endeavoured to prove from the records, that no clergyman was entitled to have a seat in that house, and consequently that Mr. Tooke was ineligible. After this, he concluded by moving, "That the Speaker do issue a new writ for the borough of Old Sarum, in the room of the Rev. John Horne Tooke, who was ineligible, being in holy orders."

Mr. Tooke began by observing, that he had had but two struggles in his life before the present, which were in any shape personal. The first was, when he applied for the degree of A. M. "which by the way," he added, "a great dog could obtain, if made to articulate *probo aliter*;" and the second, when a *doubting* set of bench-

* Mr. Abbot

ers rejected his claim of admission to the bar, without any reference to law or precedent.

In regard to the present occasion, how it might end he knew not; but for the sake of others, he would maintain his right; in respect to himself, he was not in the least anxious about the privileges of his seat, as he *owed no money*.

He then animadverted on the unparliamentary conduct of the Committee, *in delegating their delegated powers* to others, to examine old records: the result of the search was, that *Clerc*, (an epithet applied in those days to any person who could read,) signified a clergyman. He asserted that the Committee did not even understand the Saxon characters, and remarked, that in quoting *twenty one cases*, they had made no less than *eleven* mistakes.

He next combated the doctrine, that he could not lay down his function as a priest; which doctrine, he thought, must appear futile, when it was recollected that there were many Canons that dwelt on the deposition of priests. "One of these states," added he, "that if any clergyman attempted to cast out devils unlawfully, such person should be deposed." Now for example, Mr. Speaker! if I had attempted to cast the devil out of this house, I must have been deposed, and of course been deemed eligible. But in this case my only crime is my innocence—my only guilt, that of not having scandalized my order. I feel myself, Sir, exactly in the situation of the girl who applied for reception into the Magdalen. On being asked respecting the particulars of her misfortune, she answered she was as innocent as the child unborn: the reply was—"This is a place only for the creatures of *prostitution*, you must go and qualify yourself before you can be admitted."

After Mr. Fox and Mr. Erskine had delivered their sentiments in opposition to the motion, Mr. Addington,

the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, very unexpectedly arose, and moved the *previous* question, on which a division took place, and it was carried by a majority of 41.

As the subject of contention was thus left still *afloat*, Mr. Addington on the 6th of May, by a still bolder measure than that of Lord Temple, brought in a bill "to remove all doubts relative to the eligibility of persons in holy orders to sit in the Commons House of Parliament." While this was before a committee, Mr. T. moved the following clause: "That every person in holy orders, on accepting a seat in that house, shall thenceforward be incapable of taking, holding, or enjoying, any living, or ecclesiastical promotion; and further, that he be incapable of holding any place or office of honour or profit under his Majesty." This amendment however was negatived, and the bill carried up to the House of Peers, where it met with but little opposition, except from Lord Thurlow.

In consequence of an express clause in this bill, the penalties annexed do not attach during the short remaining period that the present parliament is by law entitled to sit: the member for Old Sarum may therefore continue to vote and speak while *this* House of Commons subsists, as usual, but it is expressly enacted that he shall not be eligible during any future one.

Mr. Tooke is now about sixty five years of age, having been born either in or near the year 1736. When a young man, he was accustomed to dress genteelly; and as he possessed a good person and agreeable manners, displayed much of the look and mien of a person of fashion. In addition to this, having kept company with people of distinction, and made the *grand tour* twice, it is not at all surprising, that his conduct and behaviour should exhibit the model of a finished gentleman. Of late years he has left off powder, and this circumstance adds not a little to the appearance of age, in consequence

of that *venerable* idea which grey hairs are always calculated to inspire; he is still remarkably clean and neat in every thing respecting his person.

No man in this country is better calculated to shine in company. So various are his powers, that he can either convey information to a society of philosophers, and throw new lights on every subject introduced, for the purpose of discussion; or he is able to fascinate a brilliant circle with his wit, and set the convivial board "in a roar" by his merriment. Nor is it to one sex that the idea of his excellence is confined: the ladies are far from being insusceptible to the charms of his conversation; he is capable of all the little attentions that captivate the female world; he exhibits that decorous good breeding that bewitches even virtue, and in his respectful conduct to the *sex*, still keeps up all that is amiable in the *old*, while he avoids every thing disgusting in the new school.

In respect to fortune, it is understood, that Mr. T. is heir to a very considerable one, and that his circumstances have of late been rendered comfortable, in consequence of the interposition of his friends.

No man's principles have been more uniform than those of John Horne Tooke, and if he has not *died*, he has at least lived a martyr to them. No man's character has ever been less understood. Many, while alluding to his name, conceive the idea of a furious declaimer, replete with anger and revenge, and thirsting after the perdition of all that is good and virtuous among us. They represent to their terrified imaginations a man of squalid appearance, and intemperate manners, and would be astonished to discover the scholar rising above his age and nation; the politician blending the patriot and the statesman together, and the man of breeding exhibiting the courtier's grace, without any of his insincerity.

(1801-2.)

GENERAL BOWLES.

A QUESTION equally novel and important, has been frequently agitated in modern times, and we believe it to be one of the few speculative propositions, which never occupied the attention of the ancient world. The subject we allude to, is: "Whether man be happier in the savage or civilized state?" The *philosopher of Geneva* contends for the superiority of savage life, and it is not a little remarkable, that although many, and among others the subject of the present memoir, have returned from choice to their native woods, whence mankind are supposed to have first emerged, yet no denizen of the forest was ever known to remain without constraint, within the pale of society. On the contrary, all of them have seized the first opportunity to throw off their finery, and relapse with extatic rapture, into their ancient habits and pursuits.*

General Bowles, the subject of this memoir, is a native of America. His father was an Englishman, who settled on the Trans-Atlantic continent, and acquired considerable wealth there. He was the brother of the well-known Mr. Carrington Bowles, print-seller in St. Paul's church-yard, and having conceived the idea of meliorating his fortune by emigrating into a new country, he repaired to Maryland in the capacity of a schoolmaster, and resided for many years in Frederic county in that province, where he acquired a plantation, ob-

* The most recent instance of this kind, at least in Europe, is that of a youth caught in one of the forests of the department of *l'Aveyron*, and who, although kindly treated and fed, has escaped repeatedly into the woods. He is now under the care of the celebrated Abbé Sicard. For the particulars, the reader may consult a pamphlet entitled: "Notice historique sur le Sauvage de l'Aveyron." Paris, 1800.

tained some wealth, and was invested with a public office of considerable trust.*

William Augustus Bowles, his eldeſt son, was born in Frederic county in Maryland about the year 1764. Of his early education we have never been able to learn any particulars, but it is most likely that it was such as might be expected amidst the wilds and forests, at a distance from "the haunts of men." Every deficiency of this kind has been since, in some measure, supplied by the natural talents of this untutored native of the back settlements of America.

We know however, with certainty, that he was but a boy when that unhappy and disastrous war, which severed America from Britain, unfortunately burst forth. Fascinated from his cradle with the idea of a military life, when but thirteen years of age, he fled from under the paternal roof, and determined to gratify his romantic wishes. It were vain to enquire whether he was stimulated upon this occasion, by a partiality for the English name, or an innate love of enterprize: it is indeed evident that he had not obtained that maturity of judgment, which could alone have enabled him to weigh and determine the justice of the contest. Thus far is however certain, that after surmounting a variety of difficulties, and undergoing the almost incredible fatigues of a long march through the woods, he arrived safe in the British camp at Philadelphia.

Unknown and unprotected, he was reduced to the necessity of entering into an old regiment of foot, where he was received *as a volunteer*, a term by which it is not meant to convey, as it usually does, the idea of a common soldier, but that of a young man serving in hopes of *promotion*. Soon after this he obtained a commission in a *corps*† commanded by Lieutenant Colonel

* Either that of *clerk, or deputy clerk of the county.*

† The Maryland loyalists.

James Chalmers, a gentleman of considerable property and influence in his native province, and who had displayed much zeal in the cause of Great Britain.

When the English army was at length forced by a variety of untoward circumstances, to make a retrograde motion from the capital of Pennsylvania, Mr. Bowles accompanied his regiment as a subaltern, and served along with the flank companies at the engagement commonly called the battle of Monmouth.

Towards the autumn of 1778, he embarked for the the island of Jamaica, and afterwards proceeded to Pensacola, in West Florida. At the latter place he was deprived of his commission, and dismissed from the British army, in consequence of some neglect or inattention, which we are neither prepared nor inclined to scrutinize. Having been brought up amidst the forests of the frontier, this young man was unaccustomed to restraint, and unused to subordination. The prompt obedience, inculcated by our mode of discipline, appeared to be fatiguing and disgustful. He could never bring his mind to enter into the *minutiæ*, which the situation of a subaltern renders necessary in a well appointed European army, and it has been suggested by his friends, that he felt something within himself that taught him to believe he was fitted to *command*, rather than to *obey*. Certain it is, that he evinced no great alacrity in respect to the latter qualification, while on the other hand, he at length justified the hopes, and realized the ambitious projects, to which he deemed himself destined to aspire.

Bowles submitted to his fate, not merely with a manly fortitude, but even with the appearance of joy; instead of attemping to deprecate the melancholy lot which seemed to await him, he appeared gay, unconcerned, and happy at having regained his liberty. It is thus that he is described at this period by a brother officer,

who has drawn up a memoir* relative to the early part of his life.

" Behold then this disbanded young soldier—his last shilling gone—too proud to beg, and too independent to stoop to menial offices—an uncultivated and savage country around him, no guide but chance, and no resource but his own fortitude: behold him on the brink of apparently inevitable ruin!

" But fortune, whose peculiar care he seems to have been, stepped in to save him. A party of the Creek nation were on their return home from Pensacola, whither they had come to receive their annual presents; and young Bowles, delighted with the novelty of situation now opened to him, joined the party, having thrown his regimental coat, in contempt of his oppressors, into the sea.

" A situation so flattering to the independence natural to the heart of man, had doubtless many attractions. But whether through the sameness of the scene, or a restlessness of disposition constitutional in him, or actuated through pride to shew himself once more among those who had reduced him to the appearance of a savage, he left his protectors, after having resided with them a few months, (probably with an intention to return) and came unattended to Pensacola. When he arrived on the opposite shore of the bay, he found a hogshead, which some British ship had left behind them; and Bowles, impatient of delay, without waiting for any other conveyance, like an Esquimaux, with the difference of a hogshead for a boat, the branch of a tree his mast, a blanket his sail, and a few stones his ballast, navigated the extensive shores of the harbour; in the day, procuring the food of life, and beguiling the tediousness of time by fowling and fishing, and at night regaling on his prey; the sky his canopy, and the earth his bed.

" In this very hogshead, perhaps, his bosom first throbbed with the desire of nautical knowledge; and here also he first had occasion to seek for resources in himself alone; resources which at some future day were to shield him in the hour of danger, and which alone could complete him for the leader of a brave and gallant nation.†

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* Authentic memoirs of William Augustus Bowles, Esq. Ambassador from the united nations of Creeks and Cherokees, to the Court of London. 1791, Faulder.

† " It may not be unnecessary to observe, that the Creek nations, divided into Upper and Lower Creeks, are the acknowledged superiors of all the North American tribes.

" The country of Creeks and Cherokees, as laid down in Governor Pownall's map, is comprised between the 30th and 37th degree of north latitude, and between the 33d and 90th of west longitude from Greenwich; bounded on the east by Virginia, the

" Here it was that the author first remembers to have seen him: his curiosity from that time was strongly awakened concerning so singular a character; and his mind then presaged the daring actions, some of which the author has witnessed, which have since distinguished the *Beloved Warrior*.*

" But this precarious and hazardous livelihood did not last long. The frost of 1779 will be long remembered in the Floridas; and young Bowles, almost naked, superior to the injuries of men, found in the elements an enemy that neither strength of constitution nor fortitude of mind could withstand. He wanted shelter, and it was not long before he received it. Among the inhabitants of the town who saw his situation, there was one, a baker by profession, who had a heart to commiserate and relieve him. Under the roof of this hospitable stranger he remained the greatest part of the winter, who finding him a strong and robust lad, thought it but reasonable that he should assist to make the bread which he so plentifully ate.

" Highly impressed, as no doubt he was, with a sense of obligation for such unmerited goodness, an aversion to labour, peculiar to the habits in which he had so lately indulged, made him reject the proposal, and he would again have been exposed to all his former dangers, but for his old friends the Creeks.

" The extraordinary inclemency of the season had brought them down for presents; and Bowles once more returned with them, and remained near two years. The friendly character of North American savages, when not irritated by resentment, or made sanguinary through thirst of revenge, is well known. During this period, such was their mutual regard, that he strengthened the ties of friendship by marrying a daughter of one of their chiefs. Thus he became doubly united to them, both from inclination and the ties of blood; and his children were living pledges of their father's fidelity.

Carolinas, and Georgia; on the south by West Florida; ont he west by the Mississippi, from the confluence on the Ohio. This country, extending a thousand miles in length and several hundred in breadth, is, if we may judge of it by its productions, of the richest soil in North America; and not only the various fruits of the tropics, but those of more northern climes, grow here in the utmost perfection. Wheat, cotton, indigo, rice, tobacco, and corn of all kinds, when cultivated, produce the most abundant harvest.

" The climate, cooled by the nitrous particles of the air, is superior to the south of France, and less oppressive than Italy or Asia Minor."

* By this appellation he is universally known to the nations.

" Habit had now confirmed his predilection for a state of nature; and, on the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and Spain, he was thought worthy of being enrolled among the fighting men of this warlike nation. Nor did he discredit their choice. His conduct throughout the war was eminently distinguished for coolness and vigour in action; and the most venerable chiefs pointed him out as an example worthy of imitation."

Bowles, having acquired considerable authority among the savages, who had adopted him into their tribe at the very period when he was considered as a miserable outcast by those with whom he had been brought up, determined nevertheless to make use of all his influence for the advantage of the English nation. He accordingly collected a body of Indians, marched to the succour of Pensacola, then menaced by the Spaniards, and was of considerable service during the siege. He distinguished himself indeed on several occasions, particularly at a *sortie* made by only ninety-six rank and file provincial troops, at twelve at noon, on the enemy's lines, when they carried the advanced post with the loss of only one soldier.—Fifty, out of seven hundred men in the works, were killed by the bayonet alone, besides numbers who were shot flying along the trenches. The officers of the Irish brigade conducted themselves with their accustomed bravery on this occasion, maintaining their ground, although literally *trod down* by the retreating Spaniards, while those who fell in the conflict were seen fighting to the last with their small swords!

But the career of this singular man was nearly terminated by one of those numerous accidents to which soldiers are ever liable during a siege. A few days after the memorable sally alluded to above, the British advanced redoubt happened to be blown up, just as Mr. Bowles was entering it, and had this misfortune but occurred a a few seconds sooner, he must have inevitably perished. But although he escaped unhurt, he experienced the painful sensation arising from the destruction of an hundred men within a few yards of him.

Nor were Mr. Bowles' services wholly unrequited, for he was now reinstated in his former rank in the British army by General Campbell, and on the reduction of West Florida was allowed to retire with the garrison to New York, where he continued until duly exchanged in the course of the following year.

It would be unpardonable here to omit another military adventure in which he was engaged. In the year 1780, a small detachment was sent from Pensacola to the bay of Mobile, with an intention of surprising a Spanish fortified village of the same name.

Bowles, along with several hundred Indians, joined the party, he himself in dress and figure so exactly resembling a savage warrior, that unless he had discovered himself, he would never have been recognized by his old acquaintances, several of whom served in this expedition. At day-light, in the morning of the 7th of January, the signal being given to commence the assault, the young American left his tribe to fight after their own manner, and rushed on with the British troops. This small body, consisting of no more than fifty soldiers, forced the Spanish works, and actually carried them, in opposition to four hundred of the enemy, who attempted to escape on board an armed vessel; but they were intercepted by the Indians, who killed many of them after they had reached the boats.

This very circumstance, however, probably contributed not a little to the miscarriage of the enterprise, for the flight of the garrison being thus precluded, the troops composing it took shelter in their barracks, whence they fired with equal safety and success at such of the British soldiers as had not perished in the assault; for by this time more than one half of the original detachment had been cut off.

In the midst of the tumult, carnage, and confusion which ensued, Bowles was employed in taking aim

coolly and deliberately with his *rifle* at the enemy stationed at the windows: after this he posted himself behind a tree, loading and firing alone; but he was at length dislodged by a cannon-ball, which shivered the body and branches, and compelled him also to retreat along with his remaining companions, now in full march homewards.

He however had not the good fortune to be beloved so much in the regiment to which he now again belonged as he was among the Indians, for he was soon after this put under arrest, in consequence of menacing a superior officer, and between twenty and thirty articles were exhibited against him before a general court martial. On his trial, several friends stepped forward in his behalf, and the whole ended in his acquital.

Having about this time received Lord Dorchester's permission, he set out to visit his father, with whom, however, he did not remain long; thence he repaired to, and rejoined his adopted brethren the Creeks, in East Florida, by whom he was once more received with open arms. With these he resided during a whole twelvemonth, and, although no more than nineteen years of age, he appears at this period to have meditated schemes of ambition, which conducted him at length to the important situation of leader of his nation. Even now he acquired their esteem by his knowledge of military discipline and European tactics, and left them deeply impressed both with respect for his talents and affection for his person.

After exploring the coasts of the two Floridas, he first visited the southern states of America, and then repaired to the Bahamas, where he displayed the versatility of his talents by acting plays, chiefly for the relief of the families of American loyalists who had been forced to take shelter there. On this occasion he actually ornamented the scenes with his own hand, and, when his resources failed, he supplied his wants by assuming the character

of a portrait painter; but, as New Providence did not at that time possess the proper colours for his likenesses, he himself turned chemist, and *created* them. In addition to the accomplishments of acting and painting, this self-taught genius made himself master of the rudiments of music, and became a tolerable proficient in that science.

But amidst pursuits of this kind, Mr. Bowles was not inattentive to matters of higher concern. Having at length obtained a quantity of warlike stores, and a vessel to transport them, he repaired to the continent, and being joined by a strong detachment of Creeks, waited in the neighbourhood of St. Mark's in the bay of Appalaha, for the arrival of his supplies. The Spanish governor of the adjacent fort affected to be greatly alarmed, but on a remonstrance on the part of Bowles, accompanied with a threat, that in case of any opposition he would be attacked by the savages, the cargo was permitted to be landed, and was soon after conveyed by horses, brought down expressly for that purpose, into the interior of the country. It seems to have been his intention to form a magazine for the supply of the Creeks and Cherokees with arms and ammunition, with a view of penetrating into the Spanish dominions in South America, and waging perpetual war with a nation against whom both he and they bore the most implacable enmity. In the course of this project he made several voyages to the Bahamas, in one of which he carried over five chiefs along with him. On his return home with the warriors, in a vessel purchased on his own account, he experienced a variety of disasters; but, after losing a mast, and encountering a dreadful storm, he at length arrived at the place of his destination. Having landed his supplies, he now determined to instruct his companions in the art of navigation, and for this purpose made several excursions into the gulph of Florida. In one of these he was attacked by a *Guarda Costa*, cruising for the express purpose of intercepting him: for the Spanish governors in America had conceived

the idea that he was about not only to establish an independent power in Florida, but even intended to create a maritime state. They had accordingly resorted to unwarrantable expedients, in order to apprehend, or rather to betray and murder him, having offered a reward of six thousand dollars, and fifteen hundred kegs of *tafia*, a species of rum distilled from molasses, for his head.*

Bowles on this occasion had recourse to stratagem, for, on being fired at, he immediately slackened sail, on which the Spanish captain ordered his launch to be hoisted out, in order to take possession of his prize: but no sooner did the boat approach with intent to board him, than the Indian chief returned a broadside from six four pounders, hitherto masked from view. So warm and so unexpected a reception forced the Spaniards to abandon their enterprize, and allowed time to the warriors to return in safety.

Mr. Bowles had by this time acquired great influence among the Indians, as may appear from the degree of confidence in which he was held, and the high offices to which he was now elevated. Although the title of *first Counsellor* was considered as hereditary among the Creeks, yet upon the present occasion they departed from the principles that usually regulated their conduct, and conferred it upon him: he was also elected commander in chief of their armies by acclamation; thus uniting in his own person two great and important offices, which perhaps in no association, whether of savage or civilised men, ought ever to be joined together.

This sudden elevation, on the part of an unprotected youth, who, when destitute of health, of food, and of clothing, had been generously adopted by an erratic tribe of Indians, of course exposed him to the jealousy

* Authentic Memoirs of William Augustus Bowles, Esq. Ambassador from the United Nations of the Creeks and Cherokees to the Court of London, p. 63.

of many other warriors, and even at times endangered his existence. But this was not all: the Creeks had disputes with the United States relative to boundaries, and the influence of a rival chief, of the name of M'Gillavrey, a white man and a native of Georgia, was supported by them, in opposition to that of Bowles, who had ever declared himself, in the most express and decisive manner, attached to the cause and fortunes of England alone.* His worst enemies, however were the Spani-

* It would appear, by a manuscript written by Mr. Bowles, and submitted to the perusal of the Editor by a gentleman of high respectability, that the alliance between the King of England and the Creek nation has been of considerable duration. The first treaty was formed in the month of January 1700, and a war prosecuted against Spain for some years afterwards. The same was renewed, as occasion required, in 1752, 1764, 1768, 1773, and 1778, by the last of which they were engaged in hostilities against the revolted colonies.

"In the year 1783," says Mr. B. "a treaty of peace was concluded between the belligerent powers, and the British colonies in America were declared free and independent states; but, although the Creeks were engaged by Great Britain in the war as allies, yet no terms were made for them, nor their names mentioned in the treaty of peace. On the contrary, the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, with the American and Spanish ministers, drew a line west from the lakes of Canada to the river Mississippi, down to the middle of the said river, to the 32d degree of north latitude; then due east (through the Creek country) to the head of the river St. Mary's, down the said river to the Atlantic ocean, saying, *that all the land to the north of the said line we do cede to the United States of America, and to the south we cede to his Majesty the King of Spain;* without attending to the local situation of the Creeks, and without regarding in any manner the treaty of alliance subsisting between his Britannic Majesty and the Creek nation; without defining what right his Majesty had over the said territory, or what he ceded to the two powers: thereby creating a mystery, and furnishing the enemies of the Creeks with a pretence to provoke wars, disseminate discord, to make parties, in order if possible to dispossess the Creeks of the territory they inherited from their ancestors, and of which by the laws and dispositions of Providence they were the sovereign lords and owners.

"The Creek nation have defended their country against the alternate attacks of the Spanish and French nations previous and after the conquest of Mexico, until the present time; and, although they were left by their allies, they, confiding in their own force, with the assistance of the Great Ruler of the world, determined not to give up any part of their territory or rights, but to defend them against all nations that might attempt to dispossess them.

ards, and they constantly attempted by their emissaries to assail the character of that man whose head they had devoted to proscription.

" The American states, exasperated against us," adds he, " at the part we bore in the war, and insolent by having obtained their independence, feeling the situation in which we were left by our allies, appeared to meditate designs against us of a hostile and alarming nature.

" At my return from the British army at New York (at which I had been for two years, and had obtained some knowledge of European tactics), my youth did not permit me to a seat among the chiefs of the national council. I employed myself in encouraging agriculture, and in infusing a spirit of honest industry in the minds of the more moderate around me; I also instructed the young men in the use of the different instruments of war, as well as the advantages of military discipline. To this end I frequently draw out parties into the desert under pretext of hunting, composed at different times of from one to seven hundred men. My marches were always conducted with military order, my camps regularly formed with the necessary guards, piquets, &c. As if I had been in an enemy's country, I laid ambuscades, planned sham battles, and endeavoured to show them that the strength of an army consisted in the union and co-operation of all its parts, thereby to destroy that independence which arises from a reliance on personal agility and individual strength; to bring them by degrees to bear to be commanded, to rely on the chief for the preservation of the whole, and only act agreeably to his orders. I also established a manufacture of porcelain, or earthen-ware, for house use; and thus, by dividing my attention to a number of objects, and appearing steady to none, I avoided creating jealousies. People were pleased with my *pipkins*, while they thought me a flighty young man, who never once seriously reflected upon any thing, therefore was never dangerous.

" But observing that the state of Georgia had, and still kept up, an appearance of hostilities, while nothing decisive could be obtained of them touching the cause, and that expresses were constantly passing to and from Alexander M'Gillavrey, the contents of which were never communicated full to the chiefs; but, on the contrary, an apparent duplicity appeared in his answers to them, when I urged that they should demand information of him, &c. &c.

" In the latter end of 1785, after consulting with some of the chiefs, I departed secretly, and attended the meeting of the Assembly at Augusta, in February 1786, where I made myself acquainted with the prominent characters of the state; heard their debates in the house of Assembly respecting war with us; informed myself of the force they could bring into the field, the quantity of arms, ammunition, &c. they had in their magazines, and then returned home, satisfied we had nothing to fear from the attacks of the State of Georgia, &c. &c.

He was consoled, however, on the other hand, by the possession of great influence in the councils, and a high situation in the armies, of a powerful tribe of warriors, whose destiny he in some measure regulated, while he at the same time was respected by all the Indian nations from Florida to the utmost extremities of Canada, among whom he had sent his emissaries for the purpose of forming a common league against their oppressors. In such high repute was his influence held in the neighboring colony of Georgia, that proposals were made to him in 1788, to become a member of the Yazo and Tennessee company, in which case he was to receive 200,000 acres of land, all of which proffers were rejected.

" Perceiving, however, the spirit of enterprise, &c. arising there, I represented to the chiefs how necessary it was to fortify ourselves against the growing power of a state which insolently threatened us at that time, when he might have destroyed them in a week; I proposed uniting all the Indian nations in one common cause against the common enemy. The policy was adopted, and persons were appointed and sent to negotiate with the nations as far as the lakes of Canada. In the mean while, with as much privacy as possible, I examined the state of our magazines, taught some of our people the art of making saltpetre, established a small manufactory for that purpose, collected all the money I could, and went first to St. Augustine, and thence to Providence, where I purchased all the powder and ball I could procure, and in April 1787 landed it safe in my country, after which it was deposited in the different magazines. This little expedition made much noise; exaggerated accounts of it were published in the Bahama newspapers, and one of the partners of the house of ——— went so far as to say, that I had connected myself with Lord Dunmore, the governor of the Bahamas, and that he had furnished me with a quantity of arms and ammunition from the King's stores, &c. &c.

" During my absence the governor of Pensacola had proposed a treaty with the chiefs, which was communicated by M'G. and managed by him, &c. at Pensacola. A number of silver medals were given by the governor on the part of the King of Spain, accompanied with certificates of their being chiefs of the Creeks; they were also supplied with powder and small arms, and encouraged to prosecute the war with the Georgians, &c. I stated to the chiefs the great impropriety of receiving such medals, certificates, and ammunition, from the Spanish King, and proposed that the medals should be returned, which was accordingly done."

He had always opposed the petty hostilities carried on on the frontiers by straggling parties for the sake of plunder, considering it as disgraceful to the nation, but he was unable to prevent it until 1789, when on his being appointed war-chief, he put a final stop to these predatory enterprizes, by ordering all the parties in, and declaring himself determined to punish all those who dared to cross the frontier lines without his express orders.

"I represented to the chiefs of the council," says he, according to a paper now before the editor, "the ignominy attending such a plan; that if we had any point in view at any time to obtain from the Americans, which they refused to comply with, and it was necessary to make war in order to compel them, it ought to be carried on with vigour as warriors, and not as thieves and robbers, until that point was gained; but that I saw no point in dispute between us and the State of Georgia, nor any grounds for a war except those on which it had been prosecuted so long, namely, to satisfy the avarice of a monopolizing set of merchants, who found it to their advantage in keeping our frontiers shut against the Americans, and thus securing the profits of our commerce to themselves.

"I added, that it was our interest to cultivate peace, but that in case of a war, the alliances already formed with the other nations would enable us to resist the forces of our enemies, and even compel them to be good neighbours. Meanwhile, we ought to turn our attention towards the sea-coast. We had harbours; we had materials to build ships, and we had productions that were in demand among other nations. It was a duty incumbent on our chiefs and head men to regard seriously such objects as promised a national benefit; that commerce alone could effectually remedy the evils to which we were exposed, as it would enable us to supply ourselves with those things we stood in need of, by a fair exchange of one commodity for another, and consequently make us independent of all parties; that I foresaw some difficulties in our way to a free trade, but that those difficulties would naturally give way, as we advanced in the improvement of agriculture and the arts, in which we had already made considerable progress; that it required no extraordinary exertions, but only firmness in our councils to restrain the idle and the ill disposed among us, from committing depredations on our frontiers, and to encourage the well-disposed in the pursuits of honest industry."

This quotation at least evinces that Bowles had by this time turned his mind towards matters of the utmost moment to his tribe; it also proves that he had begun to meditate and reflect like a politician, and it serves to

demonstrate that he was not deficient in that sagacity which is intimately connected with the art of governing to advantage.

An event occurred about this period, which while it held out a fair opportunity for the Creeks to distinguish themselves, and reap the rewards due to their valour, at the same time promised to indulge the ambition, and gratify the spirit of enterprize, for which their chief was so peculiarly distinguished. The discoveries of the great circumnavigator Cook, in addition to the treasures presented to science, opened the way to certain commercial speculations, in which there were not wanting many who embarked with all that eagerness which the love of gain so powerfully impresses on the minds of a trading nation. The malversation of a foreign commander, the consequent losses of a few private adventurers, added to that national rivalry, but too apt to blaze forth upon all occasions, produced considerable sensation, and all the horrors of war were about to be perpetrated upon each other by two civilized European nations, concerning the "catskins" of Nootka sound, a paltry insignificant spot on the south-west coast of America.

But the insignificance of the circumstance that gave rise to this contest, does not in the least detract from the merits of those who remained faithful to the interests, and were ready to shed their blood in behalf of the cause of Great Britain. This was precisely the case with her Indian allies, notwithstanding a variety of arts were practised in order to abate their attachments; for no sooner did the chief of the united nations of Creeks and Cherokees learn that hostilities were likely to commence, than he called a meeting of his own and the neighbouring tribes, and such was the hatred to Spain on one side, and the affection for England on the other, that they instantly and unanimously resolved to send a deputation to the *nearest* of his Britannic majesty's governments, with an offer of their services. General

Bowles (for he was now so called,) was accordingly selected for this purpose, and was accompanied on the present occasion by three other chiefs, one of whom called Uniotowy, afterwards repaired with him to this country on a similar mission. These were instructed in the first place, to enquire whether the *talks* of the Spanish and American officers in their neighbourhood, stating that they were abandoned by England was true; in the next to proffer the assistance of an Indian force, amounting to several thousand men, and lastly to request an immediate supply of arms and ammunition.

A vessel having been procured for the chiefs and their retinue, they sailed for the Bahamas, which on account of their proximity, afforded a more ready intercourse than any of our other settlements, and having waited on Lord Dunmore, then governor, they were received with great hospitality, and fulfilled the purposes of their embassy with due decorum and solemnity. They happened to arrive indeed at a very critical period, for the grand question of peace or war was as yet undecided; it was therefore highly politic to retain the friendship, and conciliate the affections, of the tribes bordering on the Spanish settlements. Were they permitted to depart discontented, their future assistance could not be expected, and it appeared to be the most prudent as well as the most efficacious plan, to cherish their hopes, reward their fidelity, and keep their zeal alive by means of new favours. But certain difficulties occurred on the present occasion, which appeared to be insurmountable, and had it not been for the patriotism and public spirit of a gentleman of that colony, Bowles might have returned home along with his brother chiefs, with his consequence diminished, his authority lessened, and his power perhaps totally annihilated on his landing in America, without the expected supplies for his tribe. But this was not all, for the connexion between Great Britain and the Indian nations on the continent might have been dissolved for ever, and instead of leaguing against Spain, they might have acted under her influence, and been guided by her counsels.

In this dilemma he applied to the Hon. John Miller, a member of the council of the Bahamas, whose friendship he had before experienced; and it appeared by the event, that the munificence and public spirit of this gentleman, was not miscalculated by him. Mr. Miller, who himself experienced great injustice at the hands of the Spaniards on the capture of the Bahamas* during the American war, was perfectly acquainted with their policy, and being endowed with no common share of enterprize and discernment, he instantly perceived, that in case of a new contest with his Catholic majesty, his native country might be enabled to resume possession of the Floridas, which had been wrested from her in so shameful a manner, in consequence of the intervention of this chief, and the active co-operation of the Indian nations, over whom he retained an almost unlimited influence. He saw also, that if the mission of Bowles proved unsuccessful, he would inevitably be exposed to the machinations of the governors of Louisiana and the Floridas, to the jealousy of rival leaders, and finally to the contempt of the savages themselves, who too often mistake misfortunes for incapacity, and conceive success to be the sole criterion of genius.

* Mr. Miller having lost many thousand pounds, in consequence of the *spoliations* of the *commandant* left in the Bahamas, after their conquest, repaired in person to the Havanna, and acquired such a facility in the Spanish language, that he himself drew up his memorials and representations, and was only precluded from obtaining complete justice by the chicanery and intrigue incident to all despotic countries. During the subsequent treaty, the English minister, in consequence of instructions from his court, made the most powerful representations to the Spanish plenipotentiary in his behalf, and redress was promised, but not obtained. It is to be hoped, that when the present war ceases, more effectual means will be recurred to, in order to procure an adequate compensation for this gentleman, who has lately returned to his estates in the Bahamas.

The author of this article, during a short visit to the West Indies, experienced a continued series of friendship and hospitality on the part of Mr. Miller, and he eagerly seizes the present opportunity of acknowledging his many obligations to him.

Actuated by these motives, Mr. Miller accordingly out of his own private fortune, supplied General Bowles with arms, ammunition, and every thing necessary for his return with credit among the Indian nations! and if it should be deemed advantageous to the interests of Great Britain to call forth the exertions of this hardy race, who occupy the most vulnerable frontier belonging to Spain, either during the present or any future war, it must be allowed, that we shall be indebted alone to the foresight and generosity of an opulent and respectable planter of the Bahamas.

General Bowles was now enabled on his return home, to strengthen his own authority, and support the interests of Great Britain with the neighbouring nations, who wanted but the signal to commence hostilities. Circumstances however intervened that prevented a rupture, and a treaty of peace between the courts of London and Madrid was at length signed; but the decisive conduct of Bowles on this and other occasions, produced the most inveterate hatred and rancour on the part of the Spaniards, and from that moment they began to meditate those shemes of revenge, in which they at length proved but too successful.

In the mean time new scenes opened to the active mind of the Indian chief. In 1791 he found that one of the American *land companies*, in which some members of the legislature of Georgia, and even of the continental congress, were interested as partners, had not only obtained a grant of several millions of acres belonging to the Indians, but that an American army was actually stationed on the frontiers for the avowed purpose of supporting their pretensions. M'Gillavrey also, a rival chief, and a member of the Yazo and Tennesee company, had taken advantage of his late absence, and by means of an Indian named Homahta, and a few others who acted as his followers, entered into a negociation with the United States, highly disadvantageous to the Creek as well as to every adjoining nation.

These events however served only to exercise his talents, for on one hand he found means to repress the encroachments of the American adventurers, and on the other he forced M'Gillavrey to fly to Pensacola, while the Indians with that versatility so characteristic of savage nations, not only voted his death, but actually sent out a party to pursue and punish him.

As the American troops did not commit any act of aggression, Bowles employed this interval of tranquility to complete a number of arrangements conformably to the plan he had submitted to the consideration of the chiefs in 1789. In pursuance of this he proposed to the council, that the ports of Apalachicola, Oakwelockre, and Tampe, should be declared *free* to all nations not at war with them, which was accordingly decreed and made known to the neighbouring states; as was also of their determination to trade under a national flag, in order that their vessels might be recognized and respected.

After dispatching several hundred warriors to the ports alluded to above, Bowles, accompanied by several other chiefs, set off in December to lay out towns for the conveniency of settlers, and, while actually engaged in this undertaking at Oakwelockre, an unsuccessful attempt was made to assassinate him in the midst of his faithful followers, which in return produced an expedition against some suspected persons at Appalachee.

The Indian chief might have remained in possession of the ancient haunts of his adopted tribe, and enjoyed, amidst an awful solitude, the undisturbed sovereignty of the forests, bidding defiance to all the power of Spain, had not fraud been substituted in the place of force, and the basest and most dishonourable arts employed on purpose to entrap a man whom they were unable either to corrupt or to conquer!

" On the 20th of February, 1792, two Spanish officers, Don Joseph de Havia and J. Rosseau, arrived with dispatches from the governor of Louisiana to the Indian nation, which were addressed to General Bowles as the chief. In these his Excellency stated that he had received and forwarded the papers transmitted by the Creeks, relative to their trade, for the inspection of Count Florida Blanca, minister of state, but that an answer could not be expected in less than six months; orders however had arrived in the *interim* to form a treaty that should obviate all possible doubts, and remove all future jealousies. But, as the distance and uncertainty of conveyance rendered it impossible to negotiate by means of letters, the governor had dispatched a vessel with two officers, to propose that General Bowles should accompany them to New Orleans, where they could treat on terms favourable to both nations. It was at the same time intimated, in the most flattering manner, that his Excellency derived great pleasure from the hope of a personal communication; that the vessel was provided with every thing for his accommodation; and that the officers had received the governor's express injunctions to treat the Indian chief with every mark of distinction during the passage to New Orleans, where he was expected with the utmost impatience.

On this General Bowles immediately presented the officers to the warriors, who were then with him, made known the purport of the dispatches, and at the council, which was immediately held to determine on what answer ought to be returned, he recommended, that a negociation should be opened with the Spaniards. After a long debate, during which many of the *Sachems* foretold what would occur, and endeavoured to dissuade the war-chief from trusting to perfidious promises, it was at length determined, that he should accept of his Excellency's proposal, and adjust the articles of a treaty in person. On this the two officers employed in the present mission, immediately pledged the faith and honour of their nation, that the General should return within forty days.

Every thing being thus settled to all appearance in the most friendly manner, they sailed for New Orleans, where, after some previous discussions, the governor pretended that his own powers were insufficient to treat on matters of such great importance, and that Mr. Bowles must therefore be sent to Spain. In short, the minister plenipotentiary of the Creek nation was seized, put on board an armed vessel, and conducted as a prisoner!

After being detained some time at one of the seaports, the General was carried to Madrid, and a negociation actually commenced while under confinement. He, on his part, after complaining of the treachery which had been employed against him, proposed to leave the decision of the whole affair to his Britannic Majesty; But this was refused. He was, however assured of the high respect in which he was held by the ministers of the King of Spain, and actually offered a commission in his Majesty's service.

Bowles, however, rejected the proferred compliment, and refused to accede to the proposition of a separate treaty, which would render his nation dependent on the Catholic King, and place it in such a situation as to be at variance with England. On this the guard which had been placed over him was doubled; and it was insinuated that he had acquired too great an ascendency among the Indians ever to be permitted to return to the Floridas.

But as such barbarous policy, and harsh and rigorous treatment, instead of procuring submision, as had been expected, only produced a stern and uncomplying conduct, on the part of the war-chief of the United Nations, a new mode of seduction was recurred to. His table was now crowded with all the luxuries that the capital afforded; a number of aukward apologies were made for the treatment so recently experienced by him, and it was intimated that the ministers at length wished

to treat with him in earnest. On this Bowles observed, with great adroitness, that the idea of a treaty, while he was detained a prisoner, and deprived of all communication with the world, must be allowed to be exceedingly absurd, and that the first step dictated by good faith, would be to restore him to full liberty.

Affairs remained in this situation until the 18th of December, when the *Alcaide* informed him, that his Catholic Majesty had appointed two persons to meet him at Cadiz, where it was necessary that he should repair, in order finally to adjust all differences between the court of Spain and the Creek nation. Accordingly, at five o'clock in the morning of the first day of January 1794, a carriage drew up at his door, attended by a party of light horse, and a military officer stated, with great politeness, that he was appointed to escort him to Cadiz, and instructed to receive his orders. The journey thither was of fourteen days duration, in the course of which, to make use of Bowles' own expression, he enjoyed a "pantomimical" appearance of liberty; but on his arrival on the coast, he was made a close prisoner as before.

After experiencing a detention of seven months at Madrid, the Cherokee chief was now fated to be confined in the principal sea-port of Spain for one whole year more. During this period a very extraordinary proposition is said to have been made to him, which it may be necessary to state in his own express words, viz. "that if I would write to the minister, the Duke of Alcudia, and accuse the Counts d'Aranda and Florida Blanca as being the cause of my detention and sufferings, he would recall me to court, and arrange my affairs to my own satisfaction.——I confess," adds Bowles, "that I was sensibly hurt that so dishonourable a proposition should be made in the situation I then was.—The Count de Florida Blanca was a prisoner in Navarra, and d'Aranda in the Alambre at Grenada, under a prose-

cution carried on by the minister. I stated to the person in question, that I would never prostitute myself to satisfy the views of any man; to which he replied, that if I did not comply, I should be sent to the *Philippine* islands: at this my indignation was fired, and I ordered him to leave my presence, and not return to me with any more proposals of this nature, or I would make him feel my resentment. He left me, and shortly after the return of the post from Madrid I was embarked on board a ship, by the Duke de Alcudia's order, without knowing whither it was bound, while all my baggage was artfully detained on shore; and in that situation I made the voyage, in the most inclement season of the year, round Cape Horn to Lima, where I was again informed, that if I would accept the offers of his most Catholic Majesty, I might remain there, and return to Spain by Panama, and Carthegena, which I refusing as before, was again embarked, and arrived at Manilla on the 27th of November 1795.

" The day after my arrival a paper was shewn and read to me, setting forth the reasons for which I was detained a prisoner and sent to that distant part of the world, which were as follows: " That I had had intentions to attack and possess myself of his Majesty's colony of Louisiana, and declare the ports of the same free ports to all nations not at war with me and my nation; that for the good of his Majesty's service I must be detained in the isle of Luz, until further orders from his Majesty; that I should be allowed any office or employ that I would ask or accept of, otherwise that I must maintain myself at my own expence, &c."

After remaining at Manilla during many months, and experiencing a variety of hardships, it was at length intimated by the governor, that General Bowles was permitted to return to Europe.

" On the 2d of February, 1797, the Corregidor desired me to prepare, adding, with a significant sneer, ' that his Catholic Majesty had ceded the Mississippi, and all his possessions in Florida, to the French Republic, and he supposed I would treat with the French, although I had refused to do so with his Catholic Majesty's ministers.' This happened at ten o'clock in the morning, and at two the same day I sailed out of the bay of Manilla, on board the ship *la Purissima Conceptione*, which touched at the

Isle of France, where I first understood the state of Europe, heard of the war between Great Britain and the Spanish nation, and learned to a certainty that the King of Spain had ceded the Mississippi and the Floridas to the French Republic, of which they were to take possession when convenient.

" At that time a declaration of war against the United States was hourly expected, and the democratic party at the Isle of France congratulated me on the prospect of an approaching alliance between my nation, the Creeks, and the French Republic; while several Americans, on the other hand, expressed their uneasiness at seeing me on my return to Europe, but offered me a passage to New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore, as vessels were then lying in the harbour bound to all those different ports, which I however declined accepting. I also observed a profound silence in respect to all parties, and determined not to return to Spain; on the contrary, I actually laid a plan to seize the Spanish ship while at sea, and to proceed home with her.

" The governor of the Isle of France, for the sum of 60,000 dollars, granted a convoy of two frigates, who accompanied us. The very moderate weather we experienced rendered it impossible to elude the men of war, which deterred me from putting my design into execution until the 16th of April, when, being near the Cape de Verde islands, it became suspected; several of the people on this were seized, conveyed on board the frigates, and a strict enquiry made when we arrived at *Les Isles des Luss*.

" I contrived, however, to get on shore on the 9th of May, and after the division had sailed, I proceeded to Sierra Leone, where the governor, Zachary Macauly, offered me a passage on board a small vessel destined for London, which I accepted, and accordingly sailed on the 6th of June. When N. W. of the Cape de Verde islands, this little bark lost both her masts, to repair which took several days, when we were overtaken by his Majesty's ship Isis, with a convoy from St. Helena to London. Being then ill, Captain Mitchell took me on board, and brought me safe to England."

We have thus given an account, chiefly drawn up by General Bowles himself, of the perfidious manner in which he was arrested and carried to Spain, and thence sent to Manilla; but it would be highly unjust to overlook an incident which he has omitted, and which does great credit to this extraordinary man: an incident that, at one and the same time, exhibits the courage, the generosity, and, what is still more extraordinary, the *placability* of an Indian warrior!

It happened, during the voyage from Pensacola to Cadiz, that a captain of infantry, who could not swim

one of the officers who had so basely trepanned Bowles, and was now accompanying him to Old Spain, fell overboard, and, as his countrymen exhibited no great degree of celerity in hoisting out the boat, he was in the most imminent danger of being drowned. Bowles viewed the scene, and, as it may be easily supposed, was not unmoved at it. He now beheld an enemy, who had committed a flagrant breach of faith on one element, about to be sacrificed by another; but at the same time he saw a fellow-creature struggling for existence, and the noble sentiment of a Pagan poet, not unworthy or inferior to any ever inculcated by a Christian sage, finally prevailed:

"Homo sum et nihil a me alienum puto."

The Indian chief at this critical moment happened to stand upon the poop, clothed in a Spanish dress, and having determined on what he was to do, he instantly threw aside his gold laced habit, and leaping into the sea, swam towards the spot where his persecutor maintained a feeble and unequal struggle with the waves. Having come up with him, he lifted his head above the water, and addressed him thus in the Castilian language, within sight and hearing of the officers and ship's crew: "Wretch! it is in my power either to leave you to your fate, or to precipitate you at this very moment to the bottom of the ocean—live however, (added he, raising him up,) if life can be desirable to such a man as you, and from my hands!" Having spoken thus, he bore him towards the frigate, and helped to get him on board. This circumstance made a suitable impression on the minds of the spectators; and, to the honour of the Spaniards be it recorded, it was mentioned afterwards at Madrid with great eulogium and applause.

Having at length arrived in England as already mentioned, General Bowles was landed at Dover, almost destitute of the necessaries of life. Happening while there to hear by accident that Mr. Pitt was then at Wal-

mer Castle, in that neighbourhood, he immediately repaired thither. After some difficulty he saw the minister, to whom, in an audience of upwards of two hours, he recapitulated all his adventures; and although the enemies of that gentleman assert, that he seldom betrays any sentiments which discover his nature to be capable of what the poet terms "a melting mood," yet it is but just here to remark, that his treatment of General Bowles does great honour to him. It was at his express request and recommendation that the Indian chief, after receiving the necessary supplies, repaired to London, and stated his case in a memorial to the Duke of Portland. Soon after his arrival there, a gentleman in the confidence of administration called on General Bowles, procured every accommodation for him, and exerted himself in his behalf with uncommon marks of interest and zeal; nor have his efforts and kind offices ever been wanting to assist him at any subsequent opportunity.

Having thus recapitulated the adventures of this very singular man, who is still alive, and retains his accustomed influence in the councils of the Creek and Cherokee nations, it may not be uninteresting to add some further particulars. General Bowles is not more than thirty-six years of age at this moment. He possesses a handsome and manly person; his countenance is intelligent, and he has something peculiarly warlike in his look and attitude, as if destined by nature for command. In point of stature, he is about five feet eleven inches high, muscular in his frame, and constructed in such a manner, as to unite strength and agility.

In consequence perhaps of having lived long in the woods, his complexion has assumed an olive hue, and he is but little fairer than any of the other warriors of his tribe. When attired in the dress of an Indian chieftain, he appears noble and majestic, as may be easily conceived from the inspection of his engraved portrait, which exhibits an admirable likeness.

P. S. Since the above was sent to the press, the editor has received a letter* from a person of great honour and veracity, stating some recent and interesting particulars concerning this extraordinary man. From it he learns, that a gentleman just arrived from West Florida, has lately seen General Bowles, accompanied by a number of chiefs, and a very considerable body of Indians, who were preparing to attack the Spanish settlements in their neighbourhood.

Actuated by the same spirit that the Carthaginian Hannibal evinced in respect to ancient Rome, he also appears to have sworn eternal hatred upon the altars of his country against the dominions of Spain in the New World; and by wisely combining policy with valour, he hath at length found means to rally around his standard a formidable confederacy of the five nations, the Mohawks and other warlike tribes: thus anticipating what hath been already hinted at in the course of the foregoing narrative.

It is at the same time stated, that they want nothing but a supply of ammunition, in addition to a few regular troops, to garrison the enemy's posts as they are taken; and it cannot be doubted, as the subject of *indemnities* must soon become an object of diplomatic discussion, that the British ministry will be eager to contribute every reasonable assistance in order to re-conquer the Floridas, on which the court of Spain has ever set a high value.

Here follows a description of General Bowles, drawn up by a gentleman long and intimately acquainted with him:

"In stature Mr. Bowles commands our attention from his height, and the conformation of his limbs is such as that of the gladiator in the statue, denoting the combined qualities of strength and activity. With a countenance open, bold, and penetrating, he has acquired the gravity of manners correfponding with those of the

* August 13, 1801.

nations whose habits he has assumed. His constitution, superior to all the changes of climate, and equal to the greatest bodily exertions, disdains the indulgence of effeminate pleasures. Hunger and cold are natural evils, to which he submits without a murmur: fatigue and want of rest he considers as the unavoidable attendants of a warrior's life. Temperance he practises from choice, and the force of his example manifests itself among his people. In the endowments of his mind, nature has particularly formed him for great and daring achievements; but the leading feature of his soul is ambition, to which every other passion is made subservient.

"Intrepid and enterprising, his motions, the effects of deliberate reflection, are sudden as lightning, and less suspected. To these talents of a warrior, he unites accomplishments which not only excite in our minds the highest pitch of admiration, but even approach to the marvellous.

"A player without having seen above three dramatic entertainments in his life, and those by the gentlemen of the army at New York. A painter, who never felt the effects of the art but on a sign post. A chemist, without even the rudiments of the science. A sailor, without study of the principles of navigation. A self-taught warrior, instructing savages in tactics, and reducing their barbarous and hitherto uncontrouled spirits to the rules of military discipline. A legislator, forming a code of laws wisely adapted to their manners and situation, teaching the untutored barbarian, shivering at every wintry blast, to secure himself against the inclemency of the seasons; and changing him from the hunter, wasting his life to preserve a precarious subsistance, into the more civilized state of a herdsman: in a word, altering his whole nature, without making him effeminate.

"And lastly, let us contemplate him as a politician, unpractised in courts, yet claiming the attention of two of the principal powers of Europe (England and Spain:) and when we have viewed him assimilating such contrarieties of character, our admiration will have no bounds, when it is known that the *beloved warrior* of the most warlike of all the native tribes, has just attained his six and twentieth year.*

"Lovers of genius, philosophers, and men of letters, 'tis to you that this portrait is dedicated! Encouragers and promoters of the arts, legislators who love your fellow-creatures, 'tis to you who can instruct the original in all things that can be useful to the nations he may one day govern, 'tis in your power to temper the ardour of the conqueror with the love of peace, and to turn the ambition of dominion to the service of mankind."†

* This was written in 1791.

† Authentic Memoir of W. A. Bowles, Esq. p. 67.

SIR BENJAMIN THOMPSON,

COUNT OF RUMFORD, F. R. S. &c. &c.

NORTH America was originally settled by that portion of our sturdy ancestors which would neither submit to the gloomy tyranny of a Laud in matters of religion, nor the more specious despotism of a Strafford in the affairs of government. Equally spurning at the iron sceptre of the bigotted Charles I. and the gilded mace of lead which his son and successor, the profligate Charles II. waved over the heads of an indignant people, they preferred, to the smiling hills and cultivated plains of England, the wild forests and the "howling wilderness" of the new continent.

Their first grand objects were to attain exemption from want on one hand, and from religious persecution on the other: the latter, which was more immediately at their own command, was instantly realized; they accordingly introduced toleration: to obtain the second they became farmers. Wealth, happily for them, was pretty equally divided: none of them possessed large fortunes, and extreme poverty was then, as now, unknown. Even at this day, after the lapse of several centuries, the general mass of the inhabitants of the northern provinces exhibit great simplicity of manners, and enjoy a happy medium between overgrown wealth and overwhelming misery.

In such a state of society it was not possible that either the sciences, the fine arts, or elegant accomplishments of polished life should be cultivated. This omission has been urged as a reproach against the Americans; but the instances of Trumbull in painting, and Franklin and

Rumford in philosophy, prove what a nation of this kind is capable of, when individuals, after having attained a certain degree of affluence, find time and opportunity to dedicate themselves to such pursuits as at once instruct, refine, and adorn mankind.

Sir Benjamin Thompson, commonly called Count Rumford, was born on the Trans-atlantic continent, at that period when it contained the colonies, and formed part of the dominions of Great Britain. The little town of Rumford, perhaps so termed from the circumstance of some of its first inhabitants having come from Rumford in Essex, was the place of his nativity, the scene of his early youth, and the spot from which, in his riper years, he derived his title, and by which he is now designated. His parents were in that happy class of society which we have alluded to above: they were neither too rich nor too poor for the enjoyment of happiness.

Their son Benjamin received the best education that could be afforded by an obscure country village in America, but there is every reason to suppose that he was more indebted to his own industry and talents than to the instructions of a master, for we do not believe that he visited England (perhaps not even Philadelphia) until after that revolution, which by rendering his country independent, made him in some respects a stranger to it!

The narrator of this has been informed by some of his countrymen, that so precocious were the talents of Mr. Thompson, that he began to instruct others at a period when young men in general are only obtaining instruction for themselves. He also married advantageously early in life, and having always a turn for military affairs, obtained a majority in the militia of his native district. He had begun too to cultivate the sciences with success; but as is with science as with laws, to the former may be applied what has been said of the latter:

"Silent *Leges* inter ARMA".

We accordingly find, that no sooner had the unhappy contest between the mother country and the colonies assumed that serious complexion which it ever afterwards maintained, than Mr. Thompson retired within our lines, and ever after remained firm in the interests of Great Britain. His local knowledge, his good sense, his various information, and his superior attainments, soon made him known to, and rendered him respected by, the English generals. It was his wish, however, to visit the mother country, which he had been taught to consider as the seat of literature and of science; he accordingly repaired thither with the best and most respectable recommendations, and was applied to and consulted relative to the immediate appearance and the probable result of the then bloody and uncertain warfare.

Mr. Thompson was no sooner introduced to Lord George Germaine (afterwards Lord Sackville), who then presided at the head of the American department, and who, with all his faults and demerits, must be allowed to have possessed great discernment, than that nobleman conceived a friendship for him, and ever after exerted himself in promoting his welfare. In his office he enjoyed an honourable post, and at his table he was a frequent and indeed a constant guest.

The war however was now drawing to a close, and the American department was doomed to experience the fate of American dominion, and be annihilated along with it.

Lord George Sackville, however, determined to make some little provision for his friend, and accordingly sent him over to New York before the final close of hostilities, where he raised a regiment of dragoons, obtained the provincial rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and became entitled to half pay, which he still holds. Soon after his return* his Majesty was pleased to confer on him the

* In 1784.

honour of knighthood, a mark of respect not so common at that period, and which, although it may have fallen into some temporary disrepute from indiscriminate application, yet then as now has always been considered as a mark of merit when conferred on naval and military officers.

The event alluded to above was the prelude to new favours elsewhere. Sir B. Thompson had been introduced to, and was well acquainted with, the minister of one of the most respectable of the princes of the second order in Germany. This, together with his growing reputation, induced his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine, reigning Duke of Bavaria, to invite him into his service, and the most honourable terms were held out to him for that purpose.

Having applied for and obtained his Majesty's permission, he accordingly set out for Munich, and soon introduced the most salutary reforms into the various departments of the electoral government. He arranged the military affairs, so as to form, instead of so many *disjuncta membra*, one complete whole; and he introduced a new system of order, discipline, and economy, among the troops. But this was not all; the Elector's capital swarmed with beggars, to the great disgrace of the police, the discredit of the government, and the unhappiness of the poor miserable wretches themselves. Mendicity had been actually formed into an art, and the many thousands who subsisted by this means from hour to hour and day to day, not content with reducing their trade to a system, seemed to consider this vagrant course of life as a profession, which, like others, possessed its own peculiar rights and privileges.* To such a pitch was this notion carried, that either the

* The younger Forster, in his Travels through Germany, asserts, that in a *certain capital* the beggars were accustomed to portion off their daughters during their lives, or provide for them after their death, by means of a seat at the door of some particular church, or a stand in a noted street.

public magistrates would not or dared not to interfere with them, while the military, from a mistaken principle of delicacy, would have deemed themselves dishonoured for ever by seizing the individuals, and putting a stop to the growing evil.

Sir Benjamin, who had now obtained considerable influence in public affairs, determined to find a remedy for such an intolerable nuisance. He had by this time been decorated by the Sovereign with the *ensignia* of his various orders, obtained a respectable military rank†, and been created Count of Rumford. With so many claims to public notice and attention, added to a great fund of good sense and discernment, it is not at all surprising that Sir B. Thompson should have been able to effect a reform, which might have been attempted by others in vain.

Having taken the necessary previous steps, Count R. accordingly, at a given day and hour, accompanied by several military officers and a body of troops, issued orders for seizing all the beggars at Munich, and being determined to obviate the possibility of disgrace attaching to so salutary a measure, he began by arresting the first proper object with his *own hand.* No sooner had their commander done this, than the officers and soldiers instantly, and without making any scruple or difficulty whatever, cleared the streets with equal promptitude and success, but at the same time with all imaginable good-nature, so that in the course of a single day not a beggar was to be seen in the whole range of the metropolis.

But to sweep away the whole mendicant tribe from the streets of Munich would have been doing nothing effectual, had not houses of industry been opened, work and employment found, and wholesome and plentiful viands provided for them; in short, by the establishment of most excellent practical regulations, the author

† That of Lieutenant General.

of this admirable scheme so far overcame prejudice, habit, and attachment, that these heretofore miserable objects began to cherish the idea of independence, to imbibe the notion of obtaining an honest livelihood by the exertion of a competent portion of labour, to prefer industry to idleness, and decency to filth, rags, and the squalidness dependent on beggary.

In order to attain these valuable objects, he introduced new manufactures into the dominions of the Elector Palatine, and entertained hopes of realizing the seemingly romantic, but not impracticable scheme, of enabling the poor of Bavaria to live comfortably by manufacturing clothing for the poor of Italy.*

The wide-wasting war produced by the French revolution, together with some other circumstances, at length intervened, and if these did not wholly put a stop to, they at least cramped the exertions of the subject of these memoirs. Unfortunately for Germany, the imperial family was but too closely connected, both by marriage and alliance, with the house of Bourbon, then seated on the throne of France. This circumstance alone has deluged the empire with blood, and it was impossible, amidst the incursions and conflicts of hostile and victorious armies, that the dominions of the Elector Palatine should have escaped the miseries of a general warfare.

Among the other advantages reaped by Bavaria in consequence of the Count's residence there, that of the cultivation, and, what may seem still more strange, the *actual use* of potatoes as an edible, will not appear a little extraordinary. It is a fact, no less surprising than true, that this most excellent farinaceous vegetable has been in common use but a few years in North Britain ;

* Previously to his return to this country, Count Rumford had also the satisfaction of sending off over the Alps, by the Tyrol, six hundred articles of clothing, of different kinds, for the poor of Vienna.

that in France it has been long known, but formally proscribed in consequence of its affinity to a very suspicious family of plants, that of the *solanum:* the revolution, however, has brought it into favour, and nothing less than such an event, perhaps, could have dispelled the prejudices conceived against it. In Bavaria those prejudices appear to have been stronger and more inveterate, for the people, although struggling with, and environed by, misery, seemed to prefer want itself to a food of this equivocal description: to the credit of the Count of Rumford, however, it ought to be told, that he introduced and familiarized the use of it throughout all the Elector's dominions, and by thus adding to the common stock of provisions, removed the present pressure, and perhaps relieved the inhabitans from the dread of want hereafter.

On his return to England, Count Rumford was received with open arms by his friends, and recognized as a new acquisition to this country by the literary and scientific world. His fame had already preceded him, and he did not long remain inactive. In Germany, as the climate is cold, fuel scarce, and consequently expensive, great part of the miseries of the poor proceeds from a deficiency in this article. It is obvious, that he who either increases the quantity, or diminishes the use of this essential requisite of life, which the French have very properly included among the *articles of the first necessity*, becomes the benefactor of mankind. To create forests, which produce the only fuel commonly used on the continent, immense labour, prodigious wealth, and a lapse of many years, are all absolutely necessary; but to enable families to economize this article, and to make one bundle of fire-wood go as far as four, is far more simple, easy, and practicable, and this has actually been done by the Count. To effect this, he has imitated the example of his illustrious countryman, Dr. Franklin, by inquiries into the construction of chimnies, and expedients for increasing the quantity of heat, which is tantamount to decreasing the *quantum* of fire-wood.

This great improvement, after being attempted and executed with success in Bavaria, was also introduced into England. The Count first began here with the mansions of two or three distinguished individuals; he then turned his attention towards the public establishments, and he must now reflect with satisfaction, that there is scarcely a gentleman's house in England which is not better and more comfortably warmed by his new and improved method. Nor has it stopped here, for Scotland and Ireland soon followed the example, and the Count has repaired to the capitals of both these portions of the united empire, with a view of giving effect to his beneficial schemes.

It may be now necessary to consider the subject of these memoirs in another point of view. The count is a member, and has long been a correspondent, of the Royal Society. So early as 1787, when the scientific world was occupied about the dispute concerning Dr. Priestley's *green filmy matter*, he made a variety of interesting experiments on this subject, and asserted its *animality*, which has since been confirmed.* His paper on this subject has received the praise of the celebrated Dr. Ingen-Housz, although at that period he did not altogether agree in the result.†

* See the Philosoph. Trans. vol. lxxvii. part i.

† "Ayant lu dans quelques journaux, qu'un mémoire, presénté depuis peu par M. Thompson à la Société Royale de Londres, &c.; il m'a paru, autant que les expériences décrites dans le mémoire de M. Thompson, au lieu d'invalider mon systême, en confirment le fondement. Il y dit que la soie crue, le coton et les filaments d'autres d'autres végétaux engendrent dans l'eau de source, après avoir été exposée au soleil pendant quelques jours, une verdure, et qu'alors il en obtenoit de l'air vital; que cette verdure provenoit d'un amas d'animalcules trés-manifestement vivans; que l'air obtenu de cette eau, avant que la verdure eûe paru, étoit de l'air méphitique; que ce qui rend l'eau capable de fournir de l'air vital y provient aussi spontanément, c'est-à-dire, sansy mettre aucune substance, quoique le production de cet air soit alors plus tardive et copieuse; que l'eau dans laquelle on expose au soleil les feuil-les de végétaux, fournit d'abord beaucoup d'air vital, qu'elle perd bientôt entiérement cette faculté pour la réprendre de nouveau au bout de quelques jours, et cela avec plus de force.

He also published, in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society for 1799 (part ii. p. 179) "An Inquiry concerning the weight ascribed to heat," which was read May 2d of the same year. The experiments to ascertain this question appear to have been made at Munich during the winter of 1787, by means of Florence flasks filled with distilled water and hermetically sealed, and an exquisitely correct balance appertaining to his most Serene Highness the Elector Palatine, Duke of Bavaria.

"The various experiments," says he, "which have hitherto been made with a view to determine the question so long agitated, relative to the weight which has been supposed to be gained or lost by bodies upon their being heated, are of a nature so very delicate, and are liable to so many errors, not only on account of the instruments made use of, but also of those much more difficult to appreciate, arising from the vertical currents of the atmosphere, caused by the hot or the cold body which is placed in the balance, that it is not at all surprising that opinions have been so much divided relative to a fact so very difficult to ascertain.

"It is a considerable time since I first began to meditate on this subject, and I have made many experiments with a view to its investigation: and in these experiments I have taken all those precautions to avoid errors, which a knowledge of the various sources of them, and an earnest desire to determine a fact which I conceived to be of importance to be known, could inspire; but, though all my researches tended to convince me more and more, that *a body acquires no additional weight upon being heated*, or rather, that heat has no effect whatever upon the weight of bodies, I have been so sensible of the delicacy of the inquiry, that I was for a long time afraid to form a decided opinion upon the subject."

After detailing the various experiments, which are evidently the effect of much labour and considerable ingenuity, the Count concludes as follows:

"The capacity of water to receive and retain heat, or what has been called its specific quantity of latent heat, has been found to be to that of gold as 1000 to 50, or as 20 to 1; consequently the heat which any given quantity of water loses upon being

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"Voila à-peu-près à quoi se réduisent les expériences de M. Thompson, &c. *M. Thompson s'est montré dans toutes ses expériences un observateur très-attentif;* mais, si j'ai bien compris les conséquences qu'il en tire, je ne suis pas tout-à-fait d'accord avec lui sur ce point, &c.—*Ingenhouse sur les Végétaux*, tom. ii. p. 362-3.

frozen,—were it to be communicated to an equal weight of gold, at the temperature of freezing, the gold instead of being heated 162 degrees would be heated 140×20=2800 degrees, or, would be raised to *a bright red heat.*

" It appears therefore to be clearly proved by my experiments, that a quantity of heat equal to that which 4214 grains (or about $9\frac{3}{4}$oz.) of gold would require to heat it from the temperature of freezing water to be *red hot*, has no sensible effect upon a balance capable of indicating so small a variation of weight as that of *one-millionth* part of the body in question; and if the weight of gold is neither augmented nor lessened by *one-millionth* part, upon being heated from the point of *freezing water* to that of a *bright red heat*, I think we may very safely conclude that *all attempts to discover any effect of heat upon the apparent weights of bodies will be fruitless.*"

In 1792, Count R's " Experiments on Heat" were published in Part I. of the Philosophical Transactions. From these, which were very nice and curious in their nature, he was confirmed in his opinion, " that though the particles of air individually, or each for itself, are capable of receiving and *transporting* heat, yet air in a quiescent state, or as a fluid whose parts are at rest with respect to each other, is not capable of conducting it or giving it a passage; in short, that heat is incapable of *passing through a mass of air*, penetrating from one particle of it to another; and that it is to this circumstance that its non-conducting power is principally to be attributed.

" It is also owing to this circumstance," continues he, " that its non-conducting power, or its apparent warmth, when employed as a covering for confining heat, is so remarkably increased upon being mixed with a small quantity of any very fine, light, solid substance.

" But there is another circumstance which it is necessary to take into the account, and that is, the attraction which subsists between air and the bodies above mentioned, and other like substances, constituting natural and artificial clothing. For, though the incapacity of air to give a passage to heat in the manner solid bodies and non-elastic fluids permit it to pass through them, may enable us to account for its warmth under certain circumstances, yet the bare admission of this principle does not seem to be sufficient to account for the very extraordinary degrees of warmth which we find in furs and in feathers, and in various other kinds of natural and artificial clothing; nor even that which we find in snow; for if we suppose the particles of air to be at liberty to *carry off* the heat which these bodies are meant to confine, without

any other obstruction or hinderance than that arising from this *vis inertiæ*, or the force necessary to put them in motion, it seems probable that the succession of fresh particles of cold air, and the consequent loss of heat, would be much more rapid than we find it to be in fact.

" That an attraction, and a very strong one, actually subsists between the particles of air and the fine hair or furs of beasts, the feathers of birds, wool, &c. appears by the obstinacy with which these substances retain the air which adheres to them, even when immersed in water, and put under the receiver of an air-pump, and that this attraction is essential to the warmth of these bodies, I think is very easy to be demonstrated.

" In furs, for instance, the attraction between the particles of air, and the fine hairs in which it is concealed, being greater than the increased elasticicity or repulsion of those particles with regard to each other, arising from the heat communicated to them by the animal body, the air in the fur, though heated, is not easily displaced, and this coat of confined air is the real barrier which defends the animal body from the external cold. This air cannot *carry off* the heat of the animal, because it is itself confined, by its attraction to the hair or fur, and it transmits it with great difficulty, if it transmits it at all.

" Hence it appears, that those furs which are the finest, longest, and thickest, are likewise the warmest; and how the furs of the beaver, of the otter, and of the other like quadrupeds which live much in water, and the feathers of water-fowls are able to confine the heat of those animals in winter, notwithstanding the extreme coldness and great conducting power of the water in which they swim. The attraction between these substances, and the air which occupies their interstices, is so great, that this air is not dislodged even by the contact of water, but remaining in its place, it defends the body of the animal at the same time from being wet, and from being robbed of its heat by the surrounding cold fluid; and it is possible that the pressure of this fluid upon the covering of air confined in the interstices of the fur, or feathers, may at the same time increase its warmth or non-conducting power, in such a manner that the animal may not in fact loose more heat when in water than when in air: for we have seen by the foregoing experiments, that under certain circumstances the warmth of a covering is encreased by bringing its component parts nearer together, or by encreasing its density even at the expence of its thickness.

" Bears, wolves, foxes, hares, and other like quadrupeds, inhabitants of cold countries, which do not often take the water, have their fur much thicker upon their backs than their bellies. The heated air occupying the interstices of the hairs of the animal tending naturally to rise upwards in consequence of its encreased elasticity, would escape with much greater ease from the backs of quadrupeds than from their bellies, had not Providence wisely guarded against this evil by encreasing the obstruc-

tion in those parts, which entangle it and confine it to the body of the animal. And this I think amounts almost to a proof of the principles assumed relative to the manner in which heat is carried off by air, and the causes of the non-conducting power of air, or its apparent warmth, when being combined with other bodies, it acts as a covering for confining heat.

" The snows which cover the surface of the earth in winter in high latitudes, are doubtless designed by an all-provident Creator as a garment to defend it against the piercing winds from the polar regions, which prevail during the cold season.

" These winds, notwithstanding the vast tracts of continent over which they blow, retain their sharpness as long as the ground they pass over is covered with snow; and it is not till meeting with the ocean, they acquire from a contact with its waters the heat which the snows prevent their acquiring from the earth, that the edge of their coldness is taken off, and they gradually die away and are lost.

" The winds are always found to be much colder when the ground is covered with snow than when it is bare, and this extraordinary coldness is vulgarly supposed to be communicated to the air by the snow; but this is an erroneous opinion, for these winds are in general much colder than the snow itself.

" They retain their coldness, because the snow prevents them from being warmed at the expence of the earth; and this is a striking proof of the use of the snows in preserving the heat of the earth, during the winter in cold latitudes."

The Count next proceeds to state, that the great mildness of our climate is entirely owing to our separation from the neighbouring continent by so large a tract of sea. He considers the ocean as the " great reservoir and equalizer of heat," and remarks that its benign influence in preserving a proper temperature in the atmosphere, operates in all seasons and in all climates.

" The wisdom and goodness of Providence," says he " have often been called in question with regard to the distribution of land and water upon the surface of our globe, the vast extent of the ocean, having been considered as a proof of the little regard that has been paid to man in this distribution. But the more light we acquire relative to the real constitution of things," adds he " and the various uses of the different parts of the visible creation, the less we shall be disposed to indulge ourselves in such frivolous criticisms."

But England as well as Bavaria is greatly indebted in another point of view to the economical improvement,

and patriotic exertions of Count Rumford, and as these are intimately connected with his history, we shall notice them here. It is to his hints that we are indebted for the numerous soup societies so prevalent in this kingdom; and which with an unusual spread have extended from Cornwall to John-a-Groat's house,* and multiplied to such a degree in and around the metropolis, as to become eminently beneficial. Establishments of this kind are admirably calculated to relieve the wants of such, as subsisting merely from day to day by their own manual exertions, do not find the price of labour keeping pace with the price of provisions, and feel the pressure of want without experiencing such a *quantum* of calamity, as would entitle them to an asylum in the poor-house. Let it also be recollected, that this ought scarcely to be designated by the degrading name of a *charity:* it cannot indeed be strictly termed *eleemosynary*, as the parties participating in it pay a certain proportion of the value received.

In another point of view this scheme must be allowed to possess no small degree of merit in the estimation of our late ministers, as it is partly owing to it that the people in the course of the present war, have experienced more privations, and exhibited less discontent than during any other period of our history, equally calamitous and unfortunate.——Had Count Rumford effected nothing else but this alone, he would be justly entitled to the thanks, and even to the remuneration of a grateful country.

We shall now take some notice of his last publication, entitled, "Essays, Experimental, Political, Economical, and Philosophical," which as we perceive from the title page, is dedicated "by permission, to his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine, Reigning Duke of Bavaria."

* At Elgin, Inverness, and all the towns in the north of Scotland, soup societies have been instituted.

In this work, among a variety of other useful information, the Count fully developes the plan of reform successfully adopted and followed by him at Munich.*—He wishes that these institutions should come in aid of the legal provision for the unfortunate, which do not constitute in his mind the criterion of public beneficence; for according to him, "the charity of a nation ought not to be estimated by the millions which are paid in poor's rates, but by the pains which are taken to see that the sums raised are properly applied."

"In every scheme for providing for the poor," adds he, "persons of the most respectable characters should be engaged to place themselves at the head of it; this will not only prevent an improper, prodigal, or interested application of the funds destined to support the poor, but it will have a good effect upon their minds and morals. Persons who are reduced to indigent circumstances, and become objects of public charity, come under the direction of those who are appointed to take care of them, with minds weakened by adversity, and soured by disappointment; and finding themselves separated from the rest of mankind, and cut off from all hope of seeing better days, they naturally grow peevish and discontented, suspicious of those set over them, and of one another; the kindest treatment and most careful attention to every circumstance that can render their situation supportable, are therefore required to prevent their being very unhappy: and nothing surely can contribute more powerfully to soothe the minds of persons in such unfortunate and hopeless circumstances, than to find themselves under the care and protection of persons of gentle manners, humane dispositions, and known probity; such as even *they*, with all their suspicions about them, may venture to love and respect."

He is a decided enemy to "the injudicious distribution of alms," than which, nothing in his opinion contributes more powerfully to encourage idleness and im-

* The end and aim of the Count may be gathered from the following curious anecdote: The great mistake which has been committed in most of the attempts to introduce a spirit of industry where habits of idleness have prevailed, has been the too frequent use of coercive measures. Force will not do. It is address which must be used on those occasions. The children in the house of industry at Munich, who being placed upon elevated seats round the halls where other children worked, were made to be idle spectators of that amusing scene, cried most bitterly when their request to descend from their seats and mix in that busy crowd was refused; but they would most probably have cried still more, had they been taken abruptly from their play and *forced* to work. Men are but children of a larger growth, and those who undertake to direct them ought ever to bear in mind that important truth."

morality among the poor, and consequently to perpetuate all the evils to society, which arise from the prevalence of poverty and mendicity. According to him, and who will deny the position? the most certain and efficacious relief that can be given to the wretched, is that which would be afforded by forming a general establishment for giving them useful employment, and furnishing them with the necessaries of life at a cheap rate. For this purpose he thinks an *Asylum*, or school of industry on a small scale, ought to be introduced in every parish, under the superintendance of such worthy, able, and respectable gentlemen as might be disposed to volunteer their service.

As the second Essay is entirely dedicated to the consideration of schemes for the employment of the needy, so Essay III. is occupied with dissertations on various kinds of food, and on the cheapest mode of feeding the poor. In respect to the science of *nutrition*, the Count must be allowed to evince an extraordinary degree of practical knowledge, and the following philosophical account of the virtues of *water* will serve to show, that he possesses no common share of ingenuity.

" Since it has been known," says he, " that water is not a simple element, but a *compound*, and capable of being decomposed, much light has been thrown upon many operations of nature which were formerly wrapped up in obscurity. In vegetation, for instance, it has been rendered extremely probable, that water acts a much more important part than was formerly assigned to it by philosophers. That it serves not merely as a vehicle of nourishment, but constitutes at least one part of the *food* of plants; that it is decomposed by them, and contributes materially to their growth; and that *manures* serve rather to prepare the water for decomposition, than to form of themselves substantially and directly the nourishment of vegetables.

" Now a very clear analogy may be traced between the vegetation and growth of plants, and the digestion and nourishment of animals; and as water is indispensably necessary in both processes, and as in one of them (vegetation) it appears evidently to serve as *food*, why should we not suppose it may serve as food in the other?—— There is, in my opinion, abundant reason to suspect that this is really the case."

In consequence of a variety of experiments at Munich, the Count discovered that a very small portion of *solid*

food will suffice to satisfy hunger, and sustain life and health, and that consequently the stoutest and most laborious man may be supported at a very trifling expence in any country. This discovery constitutes the basis of all his preparations for the poor, which chiefly consists of soups.

" It was found," says he, " that the *cheapest*, most *savoury*, and most *nourishing* food that could be provided, was a soup composed of pearl barley, pease, potatoes, cuttings of fine wheaten bread, vinegar, salt and water in certain proportions." On this occasion the Count is not content with giving directions for a strong comfortable soup, sufficient to invigorate the arm of labour, and support the most fatiguing avocations of life, but he also recommends certain improvements in the composition of this diet, such as the adoption of " hard and stale bread," as it renders " mastication necessary," which not only assists in promoting digestion, " but likewise prolongs the duration of the *enjoyment of eating*," a matter of very great importance in institutions of this kind, and which has not hitherto been sufficiently attended to.

A new kind of food hitherto used but little if at all in this country, is powerfully recommended in the essay under consideration, as affording incomparably the most nourishing, cheap, and wholesome diet for feeding the poor. In Italy it is called *polenta*, and the common people live almost entirely upon it; while in America, where it is known under the name of *hommony*, it makes a principal article in the consumption of a healthy, sturdy, industrious, and respectable commonalty. It may be* imported at a very cheap rate into Great Britain from New-England and Canada, and there are various ways of preparing and cooking it; ground into meal and mixed with rye, it makes very good household

* *Indian corn* here alluded to, will grow in this country, but then it is generally found necessary to transplant the young shoots from a hot-bed.—*Editor.*

bread, but the most common application of it, both in Italy and America, is to make it into hasty and other puddings.*

It may be proper, however, to observe, that as this is not an indigenous production, consequently the *beneficial* use of this grain depends on the price of the commodity at foreign markets, the goodness or badness of the seasons at home, the course of the winds, and a thousand other circumstances, that operate in many instances in the shape of an entire prohibition.†

The Count is a munificent contributor to the Royal Society of Great Britain, as well as to the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, having presented each of them with a considerable sum to be expended in certain prize questions; of the former of these he is a vice-president, and frequently occupies the chair in the absence of Sir Joseph Banks.

* Such as are disposed to enter into the details relative to the cookery of puddings, must recur to chap. vi. of Essay III. and we would recommend it to ladies and gentlemen residing in remote country parts, to cause the receipts to be copied and distributed in their neighbourhood, so as to enable the peasantry, if they should be so disposed, to make use of this as a *part* of their usual diet. The following experiment made by the Count, will serve to demonstrate the cheapness of this food. He informs us that he dined very comfortably on a hasty-pudding made of Indian meal, with a sauce composed of butter, molasses, and vinegar, at the trifling expence of something less than *one penny farthing*; and although he took his usual exercise, and did not sup after it, he neither felt any particular faintness, nor any unusual degree of appetite for his breakfast next morning.

It is but fair, however, to remark, that the trial in the present instance was not of sufficient duration to enable any one to decide whether this is capable of constituting a permanent diet for labouring men in this country.—*Editor.*

† To exhibit a familiar instance of this it is only necessary to remark, that the writer of the present article being desirous of purchasing some *Indian* corn for a parrot, in the course of last winter, (during the month of February, 1801) he applied in vain for it at the usual places of sale, and at length obtained it with some difficulty at an eminent seed-shop in Piccadilly, at the enormous price of one shilling a head!

It was also owing to his exertions that the Royal Institute was first established, and should any beneficial advantages arise from it hereafter, he, and he alone ought undoubtedly to have the whole and sole merit. But candour will not allow us to conceal that the effects likely to be derived from a new society of this kind are not such as could have been either wished or expected. In the establishment of her NATIONAL INSTITUTE, France exhibited a gigantic superiority, in respect to human intellect, and by concentrating in one common focus every thing respectable, either in the sciences or *belles lettres*, exhibited such a blaze of genius as had never been beheld before in Europe.*

We appear to be successful in *mimicking* the name alone, for to have rivalled the establishment (if it were possible for us to rival it!) it would have been necessary to have called forth the exertions of every man among us conspicuously eminent in the mathematics, practical astronomy, oratory, natural and civil history, painting, poetry, music, &c. &c.

To have rewarded these, parliament should have provided ample salaries, and to have prevented the whole from dwindling into a *ministerial job*, the members ought to have been elected by ballot.

Instead of this a puny imitation was adopted, and one professor only appointed; true it is, there are few men in the kingdom who could have been selected perhaps with greater propriety, or who possess more various powers than the gentleman in question;† it is the ineffi-

* As a proof of this the old members of the Academy of Sciences, (esteemed the first in Europe during the monarchy) constitutes only class I. of the National Institute.—*Editor.*

† Dr. Garnett, a man of considerable eminence in the philosophical and literary world.

cacy and nullity of the plan only that is here arraigned, without intending to throw the slightest blame on the original projector, who was perhaps cramped in his views and impeded in his exertions.†

Count Rumford is allowed to be a man of profound research, close application, and extensive science. His house at Brompton is well calculated to give an idea of the owner. The uppermost story is converted into a laboratory for chemical experiments; his chimnies are contrived so as to economise fuel, prevent smoke, and produce heat; while his double windows, constructed in imitation of those of Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and Russia, exclude the frost during the winter, and serve as so many conservatories for such plants as are incapable of being inured to bear the rigours of our climate.

The Count has received many special marks of favour, both from his natural and his adopted sovereign. His Britannic majesty, as has been already observed, was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on him, and he enjoys the half-pay of a field-officer; while his serene highness the Elector Palatine created him Count of Rumford, obtained for him the order of St. Stanislaus from the late king of Poland, made him a knight of the white eagle, chamberlain, privy counsellor of state, lieutenant-general in his service, as Duke of Bavaria, colonel of his regiment of artillery, and commander in chief of the general staff of his army.

Nor have the academies and literary societies of this and other countries been sparing of their approbation, as he is F. R. S. F. Acad. R. Hib. Berol. Elec. Boicæ, Palat. & Amer. Soc.

† Since writing the above the Editor has learned that many disputes have taken place relative to the management of the Royal Institution, in consequence of which Dr. Garnett has found himself reduced to the necessity of resigning his situation. He also hears with great sorrow that a breach has taken place in the friendship that subsisted between the Count of Rumford and Dr. G.; but, as he is unacquainted with the particulars, he will not presume to censure either of the parties in question.

He has been once married, as already stated; his wife died in America, but a daughter by that lady is still living, and has been much noticed and respected.

(1801-2.)

JAMES BEATTIE, LL. D.

Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic in the Marischal College, or University of New Aberdeen; and Member of the Zealand Society of Arts and Sciences, &c. &c.

THE pretensions attendant upon birth, are generally admitted with reluctance; for as this species of merit is at most but equivocal, and in some measure detracts from the consequence of the rest of mankind, it is often submitted to with indignation, and when allowed at all, allowed with repugnance. The claims of wealth are at least equally suspicious, and we yield to them with a still worse grace: riches are often the patrimony or the acquisition of the basest of men, and so far from being an infallible sign of merit, they are not unfrequently either the inheritance or the produce of crime. It is far otherwise with genius: swollen wealth, adventitious descent, fictitious distinctions, are often contemptible, because they are generally the result of accident, but the "heaven-taught soul," he whose mind is impressed with the seal of the Divinity, belongs to a higher order of beings, and experiences the voluntary respect of all whose minds are not replete with malice, or cankered with envy, or soured by the workings of an unsocial jealousy. These sentiments will be felt and acknowledged by those who possess any degree of intrinsic merit, and must be allowed to be peculiarly appropriate, when applied to the subject of the present memoir.

James Beattie is a native of Scotland, and was born some degrees to the north of "the hot-bed* of genius," being a native of Kincardineshire. His father appertained to that class of men who are scarcely on a level with our English peasantry, but he was actuated by a liberal and generous spirit peculiar to the little farmers of his native country, for he aspired and actually contrived to obtain an excellent education for his son. The parochial schools in North Britain are most excellent seminaries for this purpose, and the five universities† spread over the face of the country, contribute in an admirable manner to instil a tincture of learning, philosophy, and science in the youth destined to attend their various classes.

After the requisite preliminary acquisitions in his own neighbourhood, young Beattie repaired to New Aberdeen, and went through a regular course of study in that university, in which he was destined to be a professor. It is common for such young men as are not distinguished by the gifts of fortune to become *Bursars*,‡ an idea of which is in some measure conveyed by the expression of *being put on the foundation* in our English universities.

* Edinburgh.

† 1st. Edinburgh.
2nd. Glasgow.
3rd. St. Andrew's.
4th. New Aberdeen, or Marischal College. And,
5th. Old Aberdeen, or King's College.

It was lately proposed to remove the last of these institutions to Inverness, and so far as *position* ought to be consulted, the improvement must be obvious.—*Editor.*

‡ The Scotch formerly imitated the French in their colleges, as well as in all the other departments of civil life. The word bursar is evidently derived from *bourse* a purse, being a sum of money presented to a meritorious student, to enable him to proceed in his career. There were a certain number of *bursars* in the college of Paris, previously to the revolution, and the *bourse de college* in conformity to this idea has always been defined "*un pension fondée pour l'entretènement d'un pauvre écolier durant ses études.*"

To the honour of the Scotch ones, no opprobrious distinction—no menial office—no degrading servitude is annexed to the term, which merely implies the receipt of a revenue. On the contrary, it is a proof of superior merit, for instead of being a sinecure into which a student is inducted without formality, it becomes the *premium* of a victorious contest, and the just reward bestowed on the victor after a competition, in which classical excellence alone carries away the palm :

"*Non sine pulvere palmæ.*"

It is not unusual for many of the students to attend the various college classes, during a certain number of months, when they support themselves on the *bourse* of from four or five to nine or ten pounds *per annum*, and to superintend a parochial school during the remainder of the year ; and there is some reason to believe that this was the case with Mr. Beattie. Certain it is, that he acted in the capacity of a school-master during a considerable portion of the earlier part of his life, first at Alloa in Fifeshire, and afterwards in Kincardineshire. At length an opportunity presented itself of removing to Aberdeen, the third town in Scotland in point of trade, extent, and consequence. There he acted for some time in the humble situation of an usher, to the *grammar* or principal Latin school; and having married the daughter of the master, he perhaps aspired to nothing more than becoming successor to his own father-in-law.

An event however occurred that soon taught him higher hopes, and afforded superior expectations. Mr. Beattie, who had long cultivated a taste for poetry, about this period applied himself with unremiting ardour to give a polish to his verses, that should entitle them to meet the public eye, and he soon realised the most sanguine wishes of his friends in this respect.

His first publication was a volume of " Original Poems and Translations," which appeared so early as

1760; some of these after being purified and refined from their juvenile dross, have been since preserved in a new edition of the author's poetry.

In 1765 appeared his "Judgment of Paris," and in 1767 he became known to Gray, and is said to have consulted him relative to the "Minstrel," chiefly written in 1768, although part of it had been produced during the inspiration of his earlier years. We shall give some account of this work here, although it did not make its appearance until some time after.

The author's object in the poem will be best gathered from the preface:

"The design was," says he, "to trace the progress of a poetical genius born in a rude age, from the first dawning of fancy and reason, till that period at which he may be supposed capable of appearing in the world as a MINSTREL, that is, as an itinerant poet and musician—a character which according to the notions of our forefathers, was not only respectable, but sacred.

"I have endeavoured to imitate SPENCER," adds he, "in the measure of his verse, and in the harmony, simplicity, and variety of his composition. Antique expressions I have avoided; admitting, however, some old words where they seemed to suit the subject: but I hope none will be found that are now obsolete, or in any degree not intelligible to a reader of English poetry.

"To those who may be disposed to ask what could induce me to write in so difficult a measure? I can only answer, that it pleases my ear, and seems from its Gothic structure and original to bear some relation to the subject and spirit of the poem. It admits both simplicity and magnificence of sound and of language beyond any other stanza that I am acquainted with. It allows the sententiousness of the couplet, as well as the more complex modulation of blank verse. What some critics have remarked of its uniformity growing at last tiresome to the ear, will be found to hold true, only when the poety is faulty in other respects."

The introductory lines to this poem have been greatly admired:

I.

"Ah! who can tell how hard it is to climb
The steep where Fame's proud temple shines afar;
Ah! who can tell how many a soul sublime
Has felt the influence of malignant star,

And wag'd with Fortune an eternal war;
Check'd by the scoff of Pride, by Envy's frown,
And Poverty's unconquerable bar,
In life's low vale remote has pined alone,
Then dropt into the grave, unpitied and unknown!

After mentioning the parents who lived in innocent simplicity, and of whom we are told, that

" Beyond the lowly vale of shepherd life
They never roam'd——————————"

he makes us acquainted with the " Minstrel" himself, while yet an infant:

XV.

" The wight whose tale these artless lines unfold,
Was all the offspring of this humble pair.
His birth no oracle or seer foretold:
No prodigy appear'd in earth or air,
Nor aught that might a strange event declare.
You guess each circumstance of EDWIN's birth,
The parent's transport, and the parent's care;
The gossip's prayer for wealth, and wit, and worth,
And one long summer-day of indolence and mirth.

XVI.

" And yet poor Edwin was no vulgar boy;
Deep thought oft seem'd to fix his infant eye,
Dainties he heeded not, nor gaude, nor toy,
Save one short pipe of rudest minstrelsy.
Silent when glad; affectionate, though shy;
And now his look was most demurely sad,
And now he laugh'd aloud, yet none knew why.
The neighbours star'd and sigh'd, yet bless'd the lad:
Some deem'd him wond'rous wise, and some believ'd him mad."

XVII.

" But why should I his childish feats display?
Concourse, and noise, and toil, he ever fled;
Nor car'd to mingle in the clamorous fray
Of squabbling imps, but to the forest sped,

Or roam'd at large the lonely mountain's head;
Or, where the maze of some bewilder'd stream
To deep untrodden groves his footsteps led,
There would he wander wild 'till Phœbus' beam,
Shot from the western cliff, released the weary team."

XVIII.

" 'Th' exploit of strength, dexterity, or speed,
To him nor vanity nor joy could bring.
His heart from cruel sport estranged, would bleed
To work the woe of any living thing,
By trap or net; by arrow or by sling;
These he detested, those he scorn'd to wield:
He wish'd to be the guardian, not the king,
Tyrant far less, or traitor of the field.
And sure the sylvan reign unbloody joy might yield."

We now find the youthful *Edwin* inspired by the Muses:

LVII.

" For Edwin fate a nobler doom had plann'd;
Song was his favourite and first pursuit,
The wild harp rang to his adventurous hand,
And languish'd to his breath the plaintive flute.
His infant muse, though artless, was not mute:
Of elegance as yet he took no care,
For this of time and culture is the fruit;
And Edwin gain'd at last this fruit so rare:
As in some future verse I purpose to declare."

LVIII.

" Meanwhile, whate'er of beautiful or new,
Sublime or dreadful, in earth, sea, or sky,
By chance or search, was offer'd to his view,
He scan'd with curious and romantic eye.
Whate'er of lore tradition could supply
From Gothic tale, or song, or fable old,
Roused him, still keen to listen and to pry.
At last though long by penury control'd,
And solitude, his soul her graces 'gan unfold."

In 1770 the public deemed itself highly favoured by a work* we shall recur to hereafter, and which we only notice in this place to observe, that Mr. Gray's last letter to the author contained a high eulogium on that performance :

" I am happy," says he " to hear of your success, because I think you are serving the cause of human nature, and the true interests of mankind ; your book is read here too (in England) with just applause."†

In 1771 appeared part of a work which we have already noticed, viz. Book I. of " the Minstrel ; or the progress of Genius," in 4to. and in 1774, Book II. was published.‡ The whole has since been reprinted several times, and in a variety of sizes.

* " An Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth, in opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism."

† So far moderate men may approve what Mr. Gray says, but when he turns from Hume's tenets to his genius, and proclaims him " shallow," and an " infant," we are bound rather to respect the piety than the liberality of the poet :

" I have often thought David Hume," says he, " a pernicious writer, and believe he has done as much mischief here as he has done in his own country : a *turbid and shallow stream* often appears to our apprehensions very deep. A professed sceptic can be guided by nothing but his present passions (if he has any) and interests ; and to be masters of his philosophy, we need not his books or advice, for every *child* is capable of the same thing without any study at all. Is not that *naiveté* and good humour which his admirers celebrate in him owing to this, that he has continued all his days an *infant*, but one that unhappily has been taught to read and write. That childish nation, the French, have given him vogue and fashion ; we, as usual, have learned from them to admire him at second hand."

‡ It was about this time that many of the most distinguished of his own countrymen began to cultivate a friendship with, and pay respect to the talents of Mr. Beattie. We accordingly find that several of them addressed their poetical effusions to him, and we the more readily insert the following verses, written by Dr. Geddes, no

In the mean time the merits of Mr. B. began to attract public notice. But something better than barren admi-

less celebrated for his profound learning, that his playful genius, as we hope to be able to publish a memoir respecting himself in our next volume:

"THE GRUMBLERS."

FROM A SATIRE OF HORACE.—BY DR. GEDDES.

Whence is it, Beattie, that we find
Scarce one of all the human kind,
Content with that particular lot
Which choice procur'd, or chance begot;
Each dreaming still, if he possess'd
His neighbour's place, he should be bless'd.
" Happy the man," the soldier says,
" Worn out with toils, and broke with days,
" Who snug behind his compter lies,
" And sees his thousands round him rise!"
" More happy soldier; cries again
The trader, trembling on the main,
" He marches—fights—and, in a breath,
" 'Tis victory—or a glorious death:
" While I must live in constant fear,
" And shrink at every blast I hear."
The Country Squire, whom knotty cause
To London and the Chancery draws,
Oblig'd from earliest morn to wait,
Till twelve o'clock, at lawyer's gate;
Exclaims, with many a peevish frown—
" How lucky those who live in town!"
The Lawyer, stunn'd with dire debate,
Would just as gladly rusticate;
And talks, in the most rapt'rous strains,
Of rural seats, and verdant plains.
The Doctor—but the plaints of all,
Not Luttrel, in St. Stephen's Hall,
Were able fully to describe,
So numerous is the grumbling tribe!
But should some God (the gods, with ease,
Can do whate'er their godships please)
Proclaim—" 'Tis granted—Henceforth, be
" A Merchant thou, a Soldier he;

ration was produced, for the Earl of Errol,* who lived at Slains Castle, in the vicinity of Aberdeen, fortunately was induced to patronize Mr. Beattie, while yet a young man. This nobleman accordingly exerted his influence

" A Lawyer this, and that a Squire ;
" Each have his relative desire—
" Why stand ye mute ? 'Tis given to chuse
" Your envied lots." All, all refuse.
Sure Jove might burn, with holy ire,
To see them sneakingly retire ;
And, in his well-tim'd fury, swear —
He'd never more indulge their prayer.

* This is supposed to have been the handsome and magnificent Earl of Errol, who ruined his fortune in one single day : that on which his present Majesty was crowned, when he appeared in the procession in the character of Hereditary Earl Marshal of Scotland. His robes, which the writer of this article has seen, are all that remain to his family of the large estates, said to have been spent in that *gala*.

Dr. Beattie named his eldest son after this nobleman. " He was baptised James Hay, by permission of JAMES HAY, EARL OF ERROL, who had patronised me," says he, " at an early period of my life, and ever after honoured me with his friendship : a nobleman who, to a competent knowledge of classical learning, and other accomplishments becoming his rank, joined uncommon elegance, dignity, and affability of manners ; with benevolence unbounded ; an exemplary regard to the institutions of religion ; and a spirit of true patriotism, whereof those parts of his country with which he was connected do still feel, and it is hoped will long feel the salutary influence."

When Lord Hay, afterwards Earl of Errol, was born, Dr. Beattie wrote a Birth-Day Ode, of which we shall here present the reader with a specimen :—

" A Muse unskill'd in venal praise,
Unstain'd with flattery's art ;
Who loves simplicity of lays
Breathed ardent from the heart.

While gratitude and joy inspire,
Resumes the long-unpractised lyre,
To hail, O H**, thy natal morn :
No gaudy wreathe of flowers she weaves,

with such zeal and success that the assistant at their grammar-school was elected by the magistrates of New Aberdeen, to the honourable and distinguished office of a Professor in their University.

But twines with oak the laurel leaves,
  Thy cradle to adorn.

For not on beds of gaudy flowers
  Thine ancestors reclin'd,
Where sloth dissolves, and spleen devours
  All energy of mind.

To hurl the dart, to ride the car,
To stem the deluges of war,
  And snatch from fate a sinking land;
Trample th' Invader's lofty crest,
And from his grasp the dagger wrest,
  And desolating brand.

'Twas this, that rais'd th' illustrious line
  To match the first in fame!
A thousand years have seen it shine
  With unabated flame.

Have seen thy mighty Sires appear
Foremost in glory's high career,
  The pride and pattern of the brave;
Yet pure from lust of blood their fire,
And from Ambition's wild desire,
  They triumph'd but to save.

The Muse with joy attends their way,
  The vale of peace along;
There to its Lord the village gay,
  Renews the grateful song.

Yon Castle's glittering towers contain,
No pit of woe, nor clanking chain,
  Nor to the suppliant's wail resound;
The open doors the needy bless,
Th' unfriended hail their calm recess,
  And gladness smiles around.

An event occurred soon after, that obtained for our poet a still more distinguished patronage and support. Mr. Hume was at this period considered by his countrymen, as not only occupying an eminent station in the Republic of Letters, but also of being in possession of the chair of criticism, to which he had been in some measure elevated by the voluntary suffrages of the nation. To such an authority it was natural for a young man to look up for countenance and protection, and Mr. B. is accordingly said to have submitted his productions to his inspection, with all that *deference*, but at the same time, with all that *hope* incident to one in his situation. The verdict of the Historian was not however so favourable as the Poet had perhaps a right to expect; and this little occurrence is asserted in a contemporary publication, to have led to the "Essay on the Immutability of Truth in Opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism:"* but we have good reason to think that this statement is incorrect. That work, however, whatever were the motives in which it originated, which we firmly believe to have been of the purest kind, possesses conspicuous merit. The author certainly had Dr. Reid in his eye, and followed the model presented by that very able Professor; what is not a little remarkable too, the scholar on this occasion acquired a more brilliant fame than the master.

This publication obtained for Mr. Beattie much fame, a small pension, and a large portion of friends; among

O yet, ere pleasure plant her snare,
For unsuspecting youth;
Ere flattery her song prepare,
To check the voice of truth.

O may his Country's guardian power,
Attend the slumbering Infant's bower,
And bright inspiring dreams impart;
To rouse th' hereditary fire,
To kindle each sublime desire,
Exalt and warm the heart."

* In 1777, this work was re-published by subscription, in a quarto size.

whom are to be reckoned Dr. Gregory of Edinburgh, the Earl of Mansfield, Mrs. Montague, Dr. Johnson, Lord Lyttleton, and Doctors Hurd and Porteus, the Bishops of Worcester and London.

Some of the zealots of the English establishment are now said to have expressed a wish that Mr Beattie should be *converted from the Church of Scotland*, in order that from the "vantage ground" of a Bishopric, he might either terrify sceptics with his crozier, or over-awe them with his mitred eloquence. But it was observed by sensible and dispassionate men, that he could be of infinitely more service to the cause of Christianity, in the character of a simple layman, than whilst adorned with the *lawn sleeves*, as the apologies of churchmen for tenets of any kind, always bore an interested aspect, while the support of those who were not themselves *supported* by the very establishment they patronised, appeared far more dignified and independent.

It would have been unjust, however, that his efforts should have been wholly unrewarded, and we accordingly find that Lord Mansfield, then Chief Justice of the King's Bench, recommended him to his Majesty for a gratuity of 200l. *per annum*, from the privy purse; and to make use of the language of that day, "it was understood, that thus *pensioned*, he should lie on the watch and confute every sceptical and profane opinion, that should, after all that he had written, dare to start up in the world."

Having obtained fame and independence in his native country, Mr. Beattie was now desirous to visit London, and converse with the celebrated men of letters in the English capital. Being acquainted with Mr. Boswell, he applied to that gentleman in 1771, in his way to London, and obtained the following letter, which served as an introduction to the celebrated Lexicographer.

" TO DR. JOHNSON.

" My Dear Sir, *Edinburgh, July 27th, 1771.*

" The bearer of this, Mr. Beattie, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Aberdeen, is desirous of being introduced to your acquaintance. His genius, and learning, and labours in the service of virtue and religion, render him very worthy of it; and as he has a high esteem of your character, I hope you will give him a favourable reception.

I ever am, &c.

JAMES BOSWELL."

In consequence of this very flattering introduction, Mr. Beattie waited on Dr. Johnson soon after his arrival in London, presented his friend's letter to him, and was received in a manner that left him no room to complain. Not content with this first instance of politeness, the Doctor introduced Mr. Beattie to many of his friends, Mrs. Thrale in particular, and ever after spoke of him in such a manner as to testify his esteem.* That this esteem was mutual, will appear from the following passage extracted from a letter written by Mr. Boswell to Dr. Johnson, and dated, " Edinburgh, Dec. 25, 1772."

" I communicated to Beattie what you said of his book. In his last letter to me, he writes thus:—

" You judge very rightly in thinking that Dr. Johnson's favourable opinion of my book must give me great delight. Indeed it is impossible for me to say how much I am gratified with it; for there is not a man upon earth whose good opinion I would be more ambitious to cultivate. His talents and his virtues I reverence more than any words can express. The extraordinary civilities, (the paternal attentions I should rather say,) and the many instructions I have had the honour to receive from him, will to me be a perpetual source of pleasure in the recollection.

" Dum memor ipse mei dum spiritus reget artus."

* " I thanked him (Dr. Johnson) for shewing civilities to Beattie."

" Sir, (said he) I should thank *you* (Boswell); we all love Beattie. Mrs. Thrale says, if ever she has another husband, she'll have Beattie. He sunk upon us that he was married; else we should have shewn his lady more civilites. She is a very fine woman. But how can you shew civilities to a non-entity?"

Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. i. p. 354.

The subject of the present memoir, who about this time had obtained a diploma from the Marischal College, as LL. D. visited London once more, in 1773, and on this occasion, we believe, brought his wife along with him. A long interval of five years elapsed, however before he returned thither again, which circumstance was kindly remembered by Dr. Johnson, in a letter addressed to him at Aberdeen, of which the following is an extract.

"TO DR. BEATTIE.

"SIR,

"More years than I have any delight to reckon, have past since you and I saw one another; of this, however, there is no reason for making any reprehensory complaint, *sic fata ferunt*. But methinks there might pass some small interchange of regard between us. If you say, that I ought to have written, I now write, and I write to tell you, that I have much kindness for you and Mrs. Beattie; and that I wish your health better, and your life long.

"Try change of air, and come a few degrees southward; a softer climate may do you both good; winter is coming on; and London will be warmer, and gayer, and busier, and more fertile of amusement than Aberdeen.

"My health is better, but that will be little in the balance, when I tell you that Mrs. Montague has been very ill, and is I doubt now but weakly,* &c. &c.

Your most humble Servant,

SAM. JOHNSON."

In 1783, Dr. Beattie presented the world with "Dissertations Moral and Critical," in one volume quarto. The subjects treated of in this work, originally formed a course of prelections "which were read to those young gentlemen whom it was the author's business to initiate in the elements of moral science." In the Essay on *Memory and Imagination*, he first gives a general account of memory, and then examines the question, whether it be connected with the brain? This he decides in the negative. While recapitulating the laws of memory, he deduces a variety of useful maxims, but differs with Hume in every thing, and on every occasion,

* Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. ii. p. 821.

which is neither just nor philosophical, as it must be allowed by the most bigotted and prejudiced, that the great man to whom we allude, possessed an uncommon share of talent and discrimination, although he unfortunately could not extend his belief quite so far as many worthy persons among his countrymen.

In the Dissertation on *Imagination*, Dr. Beattie enquires into the principles of the association of ideas, heretofore so ably laid down by Locke. Mr. Hume enumerates the three following, viz.

1. Similitude or dissimilitude;

2. Causation; and

3. Contiguity of time or place.

Our author not content with this distribution, enlarges these into five:

1. Resemblance;

2. Contrariety;

3. Nearness of situation;

4. The relation of cause and effect; and

5. Custom.

His remarks on the origin of our ideas of beauty, genius and taste, must be allowed to possess an uncommon share of acuteness.

It may be perhaps superfluous at this enlightened period, to shew the folly of belief in *dreams:* this however is the avowed object of the third Dissertation.

The fourth, which is divided into two parts, relates to the *Theory of Language.**

Part I. treats of the Origin and general Nature of Speech; and

Part II. of Universal Grammar.

Having asserted Speech to be a gift derived directly from the Divinity, he then examines into the nature of the human voice, the power of articulation, the division of alphabetical writing into vowels and consonants; the attainments of pronunciation, orthography, emphasis, and accent; and he is necessarily copious on the admirable arts of writing and of printing.

After this, he enters into a wide field of literary discussion, and examines the origin, the progress, and the use of *Fable* and *Romance*. He gives an interesting dissertation on the character of the nations who introduced the feudal government and manners, and then expatiates on the *crusades*, *chivalry* and rise of *modern literature*, and *modern knight-errantry*, the *old* and *the new species of Romance*. On this occasion, he perhaps displays too much partiality for his friend, Lord Lyttleton, whom he terms "the great historian:" and in conformity to the opinion of that nobleman, maintains that Henry Fielding possessed more wit and humour than any other man in modern times, Shakespeare alone excepted.

He also enters at great length into the subject of *natural attachment to kindred;* and he treats the subject of *sublimity of composition* in a manner highly creditable to his taste.

In 1786, at the recommendation of the present Bishop of London, Dr. Beattie published "Evidences of the Christian Religion," in two volumes, octavo.

* In 1788, he republished an enlarged and corrected edition of this Essay.

Thus the life of our author hath been a laborious one; for what with cultivating the *Belles-Lettres*, attending to the instruction of his class in moral philosophy, composing, preparing for, and correcting the press, but little of his time can have been devoted to the pleasures of society. He was cheerful, however, and at times unbent his mind in the company of his old friends, until about ten years since, when a melancholy event occurred that cast a gloom around him, and proved too fraught with affliction, notwithstanding his singular piety, to be borne without the extremity of human misery.

For many years his eldest son, at once his companion and his friend, had contributed not a little to cheer his mind, and promised to become the delight of his declining age. This stay, this prop as it were of all his comforts and all his hopes on earth, was snatched away from him on the 19th of November 1790, when he had attained the age of twenty-two, and displayed on one hand such a virtuous disposition as the fondest father might have been proud to behold, while on the other his genius and talents began to develope, and afford an early promise of future excellence.

As the life of the son is intimately connected with the feelings, the happiness, and the history of the father, we shall here give a short account of this interesting young man. James Hay Beattie was born in Aberdeen, November 6, 1768. His mildness and docility were such, that the Doctor had never occasion to reprove him above three or four times: bodily chastisement he never experienced at all. The first rules of morality taught him by this affectionate parent, were, "to speak truth and keep a secret; and I never found," says he, "that in a single instance he transgressed either. The doctrines of religion I wished to impress on his mind, as soon as it might be prepared to receive them; but I did not see," adds Dr. B. "the propriety of making him commit to memory theological sentences, or any sentence which it was not possible for him to under-

stand: and I was desirous to make a trial how far his own reason could go in tracing out, with a little direction, the great and first principle of all religion, the being of a GOD."

When he attained his fifth or sixth year, and had as yet received no particular information with respect to the Author of his being, his father recurred to an ingenious device for this purpose. In a corner of a little garden, without informing any person of the circumstance, he wrote in the mould with his finger the three initials of his son's name, and sowing cresses in the furrows, covered up the seed and smoothed the ground. On discovering "his name growing in the garden," the child was astonished, and on being told it might be accidental, he denied that such a circumstance could be the effect of chance. On this the Doctor, alluding to his own person, and teaching him to reason from analogy, found that he already comprehended *that what begins to be must have a cause, and what is formed with regularity must have an intelligent cause.* "I therefore told him," says he, "the name of the Great Being who made him and all the world; concerning whose adorable nature I gave him such information as I thought he could in some measure comprehend. The lesson affected him greatly, and he never forgot either it or the circumstance that introduced it."

His father and mother taught him to write, and they appear to have been studious to prevent a provincial accent: when he had attained his seventh year, he attended the grammar-school of Aberdeen, where he acquired the elements of the Latin tongue; he also studied Ovid and Virgil at home, under the inspection of his father. About the same time he was accustomed to, and arrived at, considerable proficiency in drawing, and "in ludicrous *caricatura* he had boundless invention." His constitution being delicate, and finding him inclined rather too much to study, his provident father, as soon as he could handle a small musket, put him under the tuition

of a sergeant, who taught him the military exercise. An expert fencing-master was next employed, and archery, and in short every thing recurred to, that might add to his muscular strength and personal dexterity.

At the age of thirteen he was entered a student of the Marischal College, and he attended the various classes no less than five years, a year more than is usually thought necessary at that university to qualify for the degree of A. M. which he obtained in 1786.

About this time he applied himself in order to obtain a knowledge of the Linnæan system; he also studied theology under Drs. Campbell and Gerard: "but this was not," we are told, "the commencement of his theological pursuits; for from his early youth he had studied the holy scriptures, which he justly thought to contain the only infallible system of Christian faith. When he went from home, if he meant to be absent a few weeks or days, he took with him a pocket Bible and the Greek New Testament."

To a young man so qualified, and educated in a great measure within its own walls, the university of Aberdeen was of course eager to exhibit some mark of its regard, and the professors accordingly recommended him to his Majesty as a proper person to be appointed Assistant Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic to his own father, which was accordingly done when he was not quite nineteen.

He now devoted himself to those studies most appropriate to his new situation, and read the best writers on the abstract philosophy, particularly Dr. Reid, Dr. Campbell, Bishop Butler, Dr. Clarke, and Mr. Baxter; and such was his progress, that he appears to have fully comprehended Baxter, Butler, and Clarke's demonstration, *à priori*, of the divine existence.

He now applied to music, and learned to perform upon the organ and violin, studying at the same time the

theory of the art in the works of Pasquali and Holden; and that he might see the theory exemplified, he perused the compositions of Handel, Corelli, Geminiani, Avison, and Jackson, the musical authors who stood the highest in his esteem. "The music just now in vogue had no charms for him," observes his father: "he said it wanted simplicity, pathos, and harmony; and in the execution depended so much on rapidity of finger, or what may be called slight of hand, that practitioners must throw away more time than he could spare before they could acquire any dexterity in it. He was delighted with the sweet and classical correctness of Corelli, and with the affecting melodies of Jackson, so well adapted to the words that accompany them; but the variety and sublimity of Handel's invention filled him with rapture and astonishment. He thought him the Shakespeare of music, or rather the Shakespeare and Milton united; and many of his simpler songs he could sing very agreeably, enforcing their expression with a through bass on the organ.

"He was pleased too with some of the ancient Scotch and Welch airs, but made no account of the quick jigging Scotch tunes, though he did not think them all equally bad. He had studied *counterpoint*, and was profoundly skilled in it: I find among his papers a great deal written on that subject; and I have seen fugues of his contrivance which would not have discredited a more experienced musician."

In the mean time Mr. Beattie cultivated a taste for poetry, after his father was satisfied that he possessed a poetical genius. But in the midst of his career this promising youth began to be afflicted with disease, and, notwithstanding the counteracting power of the manly exercises, to which his father very prudently had accustomed him, his constitution seems to have been weakly during the whole period of his short life.

Observing, in 1788, that his health had suffered from the fatigues of the preceding winter, his parent sent him

to pass the summer at Peterhead, and as he had a genius for mechanics, and was master of the theory of organ-building, with Dr. Laing's assistance he contrived to build an organ for himself.

Some weeks before the commencement of his last illness he obtained his father's approbation to his studying medicine, not for the purpose of appearing in the world as a physician, or of accepting money for his prescriptions, but because he was anxious of relieving the sufferings of his fellow-creatures, and "would fain be useful occasionally to his friends and the poor especially."

At length, during the night of the 30th of November 1789, he was suddenly seized with a fever, which threatened his immediate dissolution, and, although he lived a year longer, he was never afterwards able to engage in any serious study. His disease, which was termed a *nervous atrophy*, daily assuming a more fatal appearance, he at length finished his mortal career, without a groan or even a sigh, November 19, 1790. The following is the inscription placed by a sorrowing father on his tomb, in which he recapitulates the virtues and the talents of the most dutiful of sons:

JACOBO. HAY. BEATTIE. JACOBI. F.
PHILOS. IN. ACAD. MARISCHAL. PROFESSORI.
ADOLESCENTI.
EA. MODESTIA.
EA. SUAVITATE. MORUM.
EA. BENEVOLENTIA. ERGA. OMNES.
EA. ERGA. DEUM. PIETATE.
UT. HUMANUM. NIHIL. SUPRA.
IN. BONIS. LITERIS.
IN. THEOLOGIA.
IN. OMNI. PHILOSOPHIA.
EXERCITATISSIMO.
POETIÆ. INSUPER.
REBUS. IN. LEVIORIBUS. FACETO.

IN. GRANDIORIBUS. SUBLIMI.
QUI. PLACIDAM. ANIMAM. EFFLAVIT.
XIX. NOVEMB. M. D. CCXC.
ANNOS. HABENS. XXII. DIESQUE. XIII.
PATER. MOERENS. H. M. P.

The last sad and melancholy duty on the part of an unhappy father, has been the publication of the posthumous works of a son,* of whom he concludes an interesting account as follows:

"I have lost," says he, "the pleasantest, and, for the last four or five years of his short life, one of the most instructive companions that ever man was delighted with. But—THE LORD GAVE; THE LORD HATH TAKEN AWAY: BLESSED BE THE NAME OF THE LORD. I adore the Author of all good, who gave him grace to lead such a life, and die such a death, as makes it impossible for a Christian to doubt of his having entered upon the inheritance of a happy immortality."

But, as if the sorrows of our Professor had not already been sufficiently acute, he experienced, in 1796, an additional weight of calamity, by the death of his younger son, Montague Beattie, so called after Mrs. Montague, and he was left once more to mourn his loss, and illustrate the object of his affections, by an inscription over this other tomb †.

* These, which, with the account "of the author's life and character," form a thin 12mo. volume, were very handsomely printed at the press of T. Gillet, Salisbury Square, in 1799.

† * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

MONTAGU. BEATTIE.

JACOBI. HAY. BEATTIE. FRATER.
EJUSQUE. VIRTUTUM. ET. STUDIORUM.
ÆMULUS.
SEPULCHRIQUE. CONSORS.
VARIARUM. PERITUS. ARTIUM.
PINGENDI. IMPRIMIS.
NATUS. OCTAVO JULII. MDCCLXXVIII.
MULTUM. DEFLETUS. OBIIT.
DECIMO. QUARTO. MARTII. MDCCXCVI.

Dr. Beattie has always been considered as an amiable man in every department of private life. In the character of a husband his conduct has been exemplary, and we have already beheld him carrying the affections of a father to an extent scarcely compatible with Christian resignation. His fame has not a little contributed to the flourishing state of that university of which he is the ornament. While his health permitted, no one was more eager or more zealous to discharge the duties of his professorship, and we may venture to observe, that a lapse of many years is likely to ensue before the chair of "Moral Philosophy" be filled by an abler lecturer.

As a poet, the Doctor must be allowed to have attained great excellence. His taste is chaste, his versification elegant, and in choice of language and of imagery he is inferior to none of his contemporaries. Had he continued, like Pope and Dryden, to cultivate the Muses, even in his old age, his classical talents and harmonious numbers would have ensured still greater fame; but there is some reason to suppose that he has long neglected the mountain of "Olympus" for the hill of "Zion," and been more anxious to attain the reputation of a *Christian hero* than that of the greatest of modern bards.

In Dr. B. the kindred talent of music has been united with that of poetry; he not only likes and understands this science as an *amatuer*, but is himself actually a proficient: his instrument is the violin *.

* Both Dr. B. and his son cultivated music, and were accustomed to assist at little domestic concerts along with a few friends, who like themselves were not only *amateurs*, but occasional performers. The Doctor indeed, even early in life, seems to have taken an opportunity of denouncing "anathema" against those who were not inspired by "the dulcet sounds" of melody, being ever ready to exclaim with Shakespeare:

"That man, who hath not music in his soul,
And is not mov'd by concord of sweet sounds,
Is fit for rape, for stratagem, and wiles," &c.

As to his person, he is about the middle size, and although his aspect be pleasing, yet there is nothing that would distinguish him from the bulk of mankind, were it not for the vivacity of the poet, which at times still beams in his eye, and irradiates his countenance.

Dr. B. has refrained from visiting the metropolis for some years; he was formerly accustomed to repair thither almost every summer, sometimes making a journey by land, and sometimes, by way of variety, preferring a voyage by sea.

He now resides constantly at Aberdeen during the winter, and contents himself with a short excursion to the Wells of Peterhead* towards the beginning of autumn.

" Is there a heart that music cannot melt?
Alas! how is that rugged heart forlorn!
Is there, who ne'er those mystic transports felt,
Of solitude and melancholy born?
He needs not woo the Muse; he is her scorn.
The sophist's robe of cobweb he shall twine,
Mope o'er the schoolman's peevish page, or mourn,
And delve for life in Mammon's dirty mine;
Sneak with the scoundrel fox, or grunt with glutton swine."

THE MINSTREL, Book I. lvi.

* Peterhead, the occasional residence of some of the nobility, and many of the northern gentry, during the summer months, appears to have been always a favourite spot, both with Dr. Beattie and his son, the latter of whom has celebrated the place in an Alcaick ode; here follows a specimen:

" AD PETRIPROMONTORIUM INVITATIO.

" QUICUNQUE nostis turbida gaudia
Tuti quieti pectoris otio,
Silentio qui ruris urbem
Post habuisse tumultuantem:

" Queis sana sono in corpore mens placet;
Excelsa quorum corda vel evehit

As his health is not yet completely re-established, Dr. Glennie at present superintends his class; but the author of this article is happy to learn, from a gentleman who saw and conversed with him some time since, that he has recovered from his late indisposition, has become

Sublime, vel mulcet Venustum,
Huc celeres properate gressus.

" Hic fundit urna divite nam Salus
Fontes, amæni et frigora balnei,
Arvosque lætâ vestit herba
Et gelidis agitavit auris.

" At nulla venti sibili personant
Arbusta nobis, neve per arborum
Umbrosa late regna, longum et
Dat querulum liquida unda murmur," &c.

" INVITATION TO PETERHEAD.

" Ye, who for sweets that never cloy,
Can quit wild pleasure's toilsome strife;
For rural peace, and silent joy,
Can quit the storms of city life:

" Whom languor, or whom pain, alarms,
Who seek a mind from trouble freed,
On nature's mild or awful charms
Who gaze in rapture; hither speed.

" Here Health her baths' enlivening tide,
And fountains sparkling nectar pours;
Fields fluctuate in flowery pride,
While cool gales fan the quiet shores.

" What, though for us no tainted breeze
Along the vocal thicket rove;*
No rivulet glance through whispering trees,
And murmur down a depth of grove.

" Th' expanded plain health joys to tread," &c.

* There are no woods in the neighbourhood, and very few trees.

once more cheerful, and is in full possession of all his faculties.

May he long continue to testify his indignation against

> " Pyrrho's maze and Epicurus' stye,"

and exclaim now as heretofore:

> " Hence! ye, who snare and stupify the mind,
> Sophists, of beauty, virtue, joy, the bane!
> Greedy and fell, though impotent and blind,
> Who spread your filthy nets in Truth's fair fane,
> And ever ply your venom'd fangs amain!
> Hence to dark Error's den, whose rankling slime
> First gave you form! hence! lest the Muse should deign
> (Though loth on theme so mean to waste a rhyme)
> With vengeance to pursue your sacrilegious crime."

(1801-2.)

SAMUEL L. MITCHILL, M. D.

MANY of the leading men in the American Revolution have terminated their earthly career. Putnam, Greene, Mifflin, and Washington, have ended their days, as well as Randolph, Hancock, Lee, and Franklin. Of their survivors some are infirm with age, or have voluntarily withdrawn from public affairs. John Dickinson enjoys domestic ease on the banks of the Delaware; Charles Thompson has employed himself for many years in an English version of the Septuagint; Horatio Gates resides at his villa in the neighbourhood

of New York; and Samuel Adams, who has long survived the revolutionary war, beholds from Boston the progress of the new order of things which has thence arisen. Others of the patriots still remain in active service; Thomas Jefferson the present President of the United States, and Aaron Burr the Vice-President, were also strenuous in achieving the liberties of their country.

But there is another class of Americans who have within a few years attracted a large share of notice.—This comprehends those who were too young to be engaged in effecting the Revolution, but have grown up to manhood since the establishment of the peace of 1783. To this list belongs a number of men who have distinguished themselves in Congress and elsewhere, since the ratification of the federal Constitution of 1787.—Madison, Ames, Vining, Harper, Otis, Bayard, Rutledge, Nicholas, Dexter, and several others that have excited a considerable share of public curiosity, have all become conspicuous since the termination of the war.

The person of whom we now offer some slight account, is one of this younger class. He was a boy when the declaration of independence was made in 1776, and had not attained maturity when that independence was allowed and confirmed by Great Britain. Mr Mitchill spent several years immediately subsequent to the establishment of peace; in Europe, visiting France, England, and Scotland, for the purpose of education. Being destined for the profession of physic, he took a Doctor's degree a Edinburgh, in the autumn of 1786; and the next year returned to his own country. Among his intimate associates when in the metropolis of the northern kingdom, were James Mackintosh, Thomas Beddoes, and Theobold M'Kenna, then among the most distinguished students in that famous University. It is related of him, that he imbibed a taste for Natural History when a child, by reading the history of animals com-

piled by Goldsmith, which accidentally fell into his hands. This was afterwards much improved by a sight of the cabinets in Paris and London, but more particularly by the lectures and experiments of Dr. Black, and by the discourses and exhibition of specimens by Professor Walker. Of this latter gentleman it is remarkable, that he gave instruction in botany both to Rousseau and to Mitchill. When Rousseau's persecutions in France compelled him to seek an assylum in England, he studied botany as an amusement, although far advanced in life, and Walker used to ramble with him on the banks of the Thames. When Mitchill was the Professor's pupil, he received tuition in the same branch of science along the borders of the Forth and the Esk.

Generally speaking, the profession of physic is little calculated to favour a man's advancement in public life. He may indeed receive an appointment in the army or navy; he may be made a professor in a college, or he may rise to something *in ordinary or extraordinary* about a court. But in all these cases he has more a derivative than an independent kind of importance. The withdrawing of gentlemen of the medical profession from parochial offices and juries, has excluded them from higher public trusts; and however it may have answered the gainful views of the busy practiser, has exceedingly lessened the public weight and consequence of the profession itself. This however is not so generally the case in America. Physicians are frequently found both on grand and petty juries. They serve as town-clerks, supervisors, and even as constables. The counties in which they reside, not unfrequently elect them to serve as delegates to the Assemblies, or Houses of Commons; and indeed, oftentimes, the freeholders of the districts which they inhabit choose them members of the Senate or Council. Cadwallader Colden, the man who administered the government of New York before the Revolution, who wrote the History of the Five Indian Nations, and who described the vegetables of his vicinity in

Ulster county, and transmitted them to Linnæus, was a physician. So were Mr. Clayton, the late Governor of the State of Delaware, and Mr. Bartlett, who not long since was Governor of New Hampshire. The like is true in respect to Mr. M'Henry, the late Secretary at War; and General Wilkinson, now Commander in Chief of the army of the United States.

The name of Dr. Rush, the Professor of the Practice of Medicine in Philadelphia, is to be seen in the list of those intrepid patriots who subscribed the declaration of independence. And Dr. Ramsay, the Historian of the American Revolution, acted as a member of the Continental Congress during the stormy scenes of the Revolution. Dr. Williamson, the writer of the History of North Carolina, has served in the Congress both under the old confederation and the new; and the names of Tucker, White, Holten, Jones, and Williams, are familiar to the readers of the debates and journals of the American Congress. Indeed, it is at this moment remarkable, that three of the most important places in America send physicians to represent them in Congress; for the city of New York, the first in commercial consequence in the western world, has elected Dr. Mitchill; the town of Boston, Dr. Eustis; and the county of Philadelphia, Dr. Leib. One of the districts of Maryland has also chosen Dr. Archer. In short, two physicians are among the Directors of the Bank of the United States, viz. Dr. Charlton of New York, and Dr. M'Lurg of Richmond. The political talents of Dr. Jarvis in Massachusetts, and of Dr. Foushee in Virginia, have been often celebrated in their own country.

Mr. Mitchill had witnessed many forerunners of the Revolution which afterwards happened in France while he resided there. Some of these were, the disrespect into which the monastic orders had fallen; the disregard of the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic Religion; open discontent expressed against the Farmers-General, and the manner of assessing and collecting

taxes; and the acquisition of wealth and talents among the *Tiers Etats*; circumstances highly unfavourable to the usurpations and arrogance of the privileged orders. Although at that time, neither he, nor probably any mortal else, foresaw the subversion of the ancient *regime*, and the prostration of the influence of the Bourbons.

On leaving Europe he was entrusted with public dispatches from Mr. Adams, Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States, at the Court of St. James', to some of the heads of departments in the American Government, and received many civilities from that gentleman. He arrived in America just in season to witness the progress of another Revolution in the national government of his native commonwealth, from the loosely-coherent and ill-compacted confederation of States, hastily conceived during the war, to the more efficient and better planned system called the New Federal Constitution.

The parties which existed during the revolution, had been denominated *Whigs* and *Tories*. The former of these triumphed over the latter; but after the invaders had withdrawn, the Whigs divided among themselves. The denominations of the great parties into which they split, were *federalists* and *anti-federalists*. To the first of these belonged that portion of the Whigs who felt some predilection for monarchy, or a consolidated government; and all the old Tories whom the lenity of the laws permitted to remain or to return among them. In the second was included that part of the Whigs who adhered to the original principles of the revolution; such as were friends of a more exact representative and popular government. In the conflict the Federalists prevailed, the new Constitution was adopted, and both parties agreed to support it. Federalism predominated in the councils of the nation, and anti-federalism no where existed any longer.

Under this new arrangement, they who were called to offices in the government proceeded to the performances

of their respective duties. It is however vain to expect that in free states all men will be of one mind. Citizens equally wise, equally virtuous, and equally zealous for the public good, often differ materially as to measures, and the management of public affairs. Hence arise the present parties in America, called *the Administration* and *the Opposition.*

During a period of twelve years, the aristocratical or monarchical party have possessed the sway. Eight of these passed under the presidency of Washington, and the remaining four under that of Adams. At the last election, the democratic or republican party at length prevailed, and Thomas Jefferson was chosen President for four years, from the 4th of March 1801. By this change of parties, the *Democrats* have resumed the ascendency in American politics, and the Aristocrats form the *Opposition.* Dr. Mitchill was elected by the republicans of New York, and of course is numbered with the friends of the new Administration.

His attention has been a good deal directed to philosophical objects ; in the prosecution of which, besides a large share of original remark and experiment, he has carried on a very extensive correspondence. The subjects which he has investigated with most labour, are *the Production, Composition, and Operation of Pestilential Fluids*, or the History of those gases or vapours which infect the atmosphere, and excite febrile distempers. The *doctrine* of SEPTON, offered to the world by him and his pupils, in consequence of these investigations, forms a memorable era in modern science. Additional and brighter light has been shed thereby upon all the branches of experimental physics which are connected with it, such as the putrefactive process, the formation of the atmosphere, the fertilization of land, the treatment of fevers, improvement of the police of cities, the promotion of household economy, &c. These, indeed, constitute so respectable and extensive a portion

of the investigations of the present day, that it is deemed reproachful to be unacquainted with them.

Of Dr. M's talent for poetry we have been informed; but his versification of his Doctrine of Septon, in the first volume of the Medical Repository, and his translation of the song in honour of Harmodius and Aristagiton into English, are the only pieces we have seen in print. Many more of his poetical effusions have been perused in manuscript among the circles of his acquaintance.

(1801-2.)

DR. JENNER.

" Te mater omnis, te lachrymabilis
Accurret uxor, ne caducum
Orba virum, puerosque ploret.

Seu confluentes forte timet notas
Decora virgo,—tu faciem eripis
Periclitantem, protegisque
Delicias juvenum futuras."

OF all public characters, he justly claims the first honours, and the first rank, in biography, who by the diligent and successful exertion of his talents, most effectually promotes the public good. We are therefore secure of the approbation of our readers, in assigning a place in this volume to Dr. Jenner.

It is with peculiar pleasure the mind, satiated and disgusted with the contemplation of the political world, with the continual revolutions of empires, the inordinate ambition of potentates, the sanguinary deeds of heroes, and the artful machinations of statesmen, turns to an object where it can find repose. On such a theme, the pen of panegyric dwells with delight. Saul slew his thousands, and David his ten thousands. Let others celebrate their triumphs: while we offer the humble tribute of our applause at the shrine of Jenner—a shrine not polluted with blood!

The discovery we celebrate, is the pride of Britain,—the boast of science, and the glory of the healing art. The victory we commemorate, is a victory of man,—not over man, but over a cruel and unrelenting disease. It is a victory, over which humanity will never mourn.

Vaccine Inoculation is, beyond all comparison, the most valuable, and the most important discovery, ever made. It is a discovery, to which even that of Harvey must yield the palm. It strikes one out of the catalogue of human evils: it annihilates a disease, which has ever been considered as the most dreadful scourge of mankind.

A Roman who preserved the life of one citizen, was rewarded with a civic crown. What crown shall be presented to him, who preserves the lives of millions?—Divine honours were paid to Hippocrates, for exterminating the plague from Athens for a season. What honours shall be paid to him, who exterminates a more destructive pestilence for ever, from the face of the whole earth?

Wealth and titles are the recompense for desert in arms; for the desolation of provinces, and the destruction of human kind. In a more enlightened age, and a more advanced state of civilization, similar encouragement will be held forth, for those who excel in peaceful pursuits, and meliorate the condition of man:

Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
Quique sui memores alios fuere merendo.

Dr. Edward Jenner is the youngest son of the Rev. Stephen Jenner, M. A. of the University of Oxford, rector of Rockhampton, and vicar of Berkeley in Gloucestershire; where the subject of this memoir was born, in 1749.

Independent of church preferment, his father was possessed of considerable landed property in the same county. His mother was the daughter of the Rev. Henry Head, of an ancient and respectable family in Berkshire; who also once held the living of Berkeley, and was at the same time a prebendary of Bristol.

Dr. Jenner had the misfortune to lose his father at a very early period of life; but this loss, which too frequently prevents the proper cultivation of the mental faculties, was fortunately supplied by the well-directed and affectionate attention of his elder brother, the Rev. Stephen Jenner; who brought him up with a tenderness truly parental. He had another brother, the Rev. Henry Jenner, many years domestic chaplain to the Earl of Aylesbury, and vicar of Great Bedwin, Wilts; father of the Rev. George Jenner, and of Mr. Henry Jenner, surgeon, of Berkeley; whose names so frequently appear in the history of Vaccine Inoculation.

After receiving a classial education at Cirencester, and learning the rudiments of surgery and pharmacy from Mr. Ludlow of Sodbury, a man of high professional eminence, he was placed under the immediate tuition of the late Mr. John Hunter; with whom he lived two years as a house pupil.

In liberal minds a congeniality of talent and pursuits lays the foundation of sincere and lasting friendship.—This observation is fully exemplified by that friendship which ever after subsisted between the celebrated pre-

ceptor and his pupil. A constant correspondence was kept up between them, which only ceased with the death of the former.

As a proof in what estimation Mr. Hunter held the abilities of Dr. Jenner, we may remark, that he offered him a partnership in his profession, which was extremely valuable. Mr. Hunter was desirous of giving lectures on natural history upon an extensive plan; and, justly appreciating the abilities of his pupil Jenner, and his ardour and perseverance in those enquiries, he well knew the ample support he should derive from the acquisition of his talents.

After finishing his studies in London, Dr. Jenner settled at Berkeley. His attachment to this situation was so strong, that nothing seemed capable of seducing him from it; neither the offers of a connection with Mr. Hunter, nor the allurements of the eastern world, though held up to him in the most dazzling point of view, could tempt him to desert it, for no mortal was ever more charmed with the place of his nativity than Dr. Jenner.

He continued the practice of physic and surgery at Berkeley, with increasing success and reputation; and, did the limits of our publication permit, we could enumerate many instances of his eminent skill and singular ingenuity in the healing art, during this period of his life.

From the extent of his practice, his professional duties became extremely laborious; and, as it continued to increase, he was under the necessity of relinquishing the most fatiguing parts of his business. He therefore took out a diploma.

In 1788, Dr. Jenner married Miss Catherine Kingscote, sister to Colonel Robert Kingscote, of Kingscote in Gloucestershire; a family of the highest antiquity and respectability in the county, by whom he has three children, two sons and a daughter.

Having disengaged himself from surgery, he had leisure for the pursuit of other studies more congenial to his mind; physiology, and natural history. But, even previously to this event, notwithstanding the pressure of numerous avocations, he frequently found opportunities of indulging his favourite propensity. By the joint aid of actual observation, and apposite conjecture, he completely elucidated a very obscure and much disputed point in the natural history of the cuckoo. The originality of this disquisition excited much attention among naturalists. He was soon after elected a fellow of the Royal Society.

Among other discoveries in the early part of his life, we may notice a mode of producing pure emetic tartar by a new and easy process, which was published in some of the medical journals of that day. We may also refer our readers to a late publication by the ingenious Dr. Parry, of Bath, wherein it appears, that the discovery of the cause of that dreadful malady, the anginy pectoris, originated with Dr. Jenner.

Strong as was the attachment of Dr. Jenner to his native valley, yet circumstances soon occurred, which rendered his presence in London absolutely necessary. We allude to his most happy discovery of Vaccine Inoculation; to the history of which we now hasten, as the most important part of this narrative.

For the discovery of the divine art of vaccination, we are indebted to a fortunate concurrence of circumstances; talents, education, and situation: to the talents of Dr. Jenner, his education under the celebrated Hunter, and his situation in the vale of Gloucester. His inquiry into the nature of the cow-pox commenced about the year 1776. His attention to this singular disease was first excited by observing, that among those whom he inoculated for the small-pox, many were insusceptible of that disorder. These persons, he was informed, had undergone the casual cow-pox, which had been known

in the dairies from time immemorial, and a vague opinion had prevailed, that it was a preventative of the small-pox.

Dr. Jenner met with many apparent exceptions to this rule, which led him to ask the opinions of other medical practitioners in the neighbourhood, who all agreed, that the prophylactic power of the cow-pox was not to be relied on. This for a while damped, but did not extinguish his ardour; for he had the satisfaction to learn, that the cow was subject to various eruptions called the cow-pox, all of which were capable of infecting the hands of the milkers.

Having surmounted this obstacle, he formed a distinction between the different kinds of pustulous eruptions to which the cow is liable; denominating one species the true, and all the others the spurious cow-pox.

This impediment to his progress was not long removed, before another, of far greater magnitude in appearance, started up. Instances were not wanting to prove, that when the genuine cow-pox broke out in a dairy, some persons who had experienced the disease, resisted the small-pox; and others continued susceptible of that distemper.

This obstacle, as well as the former, gave a painful check to his fond aspiring hopes; but reflecting, that the operations of nature are for the most part uniform, and that when two persons have had the cow-pox, it is not probable one should be perfectly shielded from the small-pox, and the constitution of the other remain unprotected, he resumed his labours with redoubled ardour.

The result was fortunate; for he now discovered, that vaccine, as well as variolous matter, undergoes a change; and that when it has lost its specific property,

it is still capable of communicating a pustulous eruption. Hence, a person who milks a cow one day, may receive the infection of the genuine cow-pox, and be rendered for ever secure from the infection of the small-pox; while another, who milks the same cow the next day, may have a pustulous eruption, and perhaps a constitutional indisposition to a considerable extent, yet still remain susceptible of the variolous contagion.

While thus investigating the nature of the cow-pox, he was struck with the idea, that it might be practicable to propagate the disease by inoculation, after the manner of the small-pox; first from the cow, and then from one human subject to another. The first case in which he put this theory to the test, inspired him with confidence; and a regular series of experiments, which he afterwards instituted for that purpose was crowned with success.

Several persons were successively inoculated from each other with vaccine matter, and afterwards exposed in a variety of ways to the infection of the small-pox, which they all resisted.

This happy discovery was communicated to the world by Dr. Jenner, in a treatise published in June, 1798, entitled, "An enquiry into the Causes and Effects of the Variłæ Vaccinæ, a disease discovered in some of the western counties of England, particularly Gloucestershire, and known by the name of the Cow-pox."—The result of his further experience was also brought forward in subsequent publications in the course of the two succeeding years; and the whole work has been published in one volume. He has since written a small tract, entitled, "The Origin of Vaccine Inoculation;" from which the preceding account of that singular improvement of the healing art is, in a great measure, extracted.

The same fortune which has attended all other great dicoveries, and all other great benefactors of mankind,

has also attended Dr. Jenner on this occasion. Envy assailed his fame; his discovery was first depreciated, then denied; and as he surpassed Harvey himself in glory, so he surpassed him also in the opposition he had to encounter. Truth, however, ultimately prevailed; vaccination obtained a complete triumph, and the foes of Jenner and humanity were covered with confusion.

In the month of July 1798, Mr. Cline inoculated a child with vaccine virus received from Dr. Jenner, which succeeded. He afterwards put the child to the test of inoculation with small-pox matter in three places, which it resisted. On this occasion Mr. Cline informs Dr. Jenner, that Dr. Lister, formerly physician to the Small-pox Hospital, and himself, are convinced of the efficacy of the cow-pox; and that the substitution of this mild disease for the small-pox promises to be one of the greatest improvements ever made in medicine. He adds, "the more I think on the subject, the more I am impressed with its importance."

This instance of the first introduction of vaccine inoculation into the metropolis it was necessary to mention, because another medical practitioner has laid claim to that honour. The practice, it is true, was not continued at that time, for reasons with which we are not acquainted. At any rate, this was not the fault of Dr. Jenner.

After publishing the first part of his inquiry, Dr. Jenner had no opportunity of collecting cow-pock matter in Gloucestershire during the remainder of that year. In the beginning of the year 1799, the disease broke out in a dairy-farm in Gray's-inn-lane. With matter obtained at this place, Dr. Woodville inoculated several persons, who were afterwards admitted into the Small-pox Hospital, and exposed to the infection of the small pox.

It is probable they had also been exposed to the same infection previous to inoculation, for a majority of them

had pustulous eruptions. Others were inoculated from these. In some instances vaccine matter was inserted into one arm, and variolous into the other, on the same day. In some instances vaccine matter was inserted first, and variolous matter on a subsequent day. In other instances variolous matter was first inserted.

When such experiments were made, and the patients were thus exposed to the double risk of catching the small-pox, either by inoculation, or by exposure to the natural infection, and those medical men who adopted the practice, were in general supplied from this source, they might well be disappointed in their expectations of producing a mild disease, such as that described by Dr. Jenner.

Dr. Pearson informs us, that he alone took matter from the cows at Mr. Willan's farm: but, not being able to supply the demand for matter from his own stock, he had recourse to that of Dr. Woodville. Hence, it is no wonder, as the celebrated Dr. de Carro of Vienna observes, that a number of persons who were inoculated with supposed vaccine matter on the continent of Europe, as well as England, had pustulous eruptions, and a virulent disease. The source from which the matter issued will account for this event.

Nor is it strange, that Dr. Woodville and Dr. Pearson, in their first reports, should represent the cow-pox as a severe disease, and appear doubtful whether it was expedient to introduce it as a substitute for the small-pox.

Nor is it surprising, that selfish, invidious, and ill-designing persons, should take advantage of their unfavourable reports. It is not surprising, that one patient should fall a sacrifice to the small-pox; nor that many should suffer severely from that distemper; nor that many practitioners should be deterred from vaccine inoculation by such examples. But it is surprising, that

any one, who had the principal share in the distribution of contaminated matter, which excited the small-pox in several parts of the world,—and proved the more injurious, because it neither found the patients prepared to receive, nor the public to shun the infection,—should claim a participation of honours and rewards with Dr. Jenner. The small-pox is not the less dangerous, because it comes on in an insidious form; nor the less fatal, because it ravages the globe under another name.

Surely it would excite some degree of surprise, if the crew of a vessel, which imported the yellow fever from St. Domingo, or the plague from Smyrna, were to appear before a committee of the House of Commons, and to say, let Dr. Jenner receive a reward.

———" modo ne communia solus
Occupet ; atque aliquem *nobis* quoque reddat honorem."

Of the five hundred persons concerning whom Dr. Woodville made his first report, above three hundred confessedly had the small-pox. Whether any of them had the pure unadulterated cow-pox it is not our province to determine. Be that is it may, there is no reason to extol the practice of the Small-pox Hospital, and that of Dr. Pearson, at the expence of Dr. Jenner, and others, as has lately been done in a pamphlet to which the name of Dr. Pearson is prefixed.

Such was the terror inspired by the first reports of vaccine inoculation in London, together with the falsehoods propagated with great industry by certain artful and ambitious men, that it was in danger of being totally laid aside, had not more favourable reports by other practitioners, and a testimonial recommending the practice, signed by a considerable number of the most eminent physicians and surgeons in the metropolis, appeared in the medical journals, and other respectable channels of information. Occasional observations, published by Dr. Jenner also, had no small share in producing this happy change.

He replied to the calumnies of his opponents with great dignity, moderation, and temper; vindicating the practice of vaccine inoculation from the various charges brought against it; and proving, that what was ascribed to the cow-pox, was, in reality, occasioned by the small-pox propagated in disguise.

Hasty conclusions were drawn, conclusions not warranted by the evidence adduced, that Dr. Jenner's opinion concerning the origin of this curious disease was ill-founded; and hence it was artfully insinuated, that his opinion concerning its effects was entitled to the less regard. Such sophistry could have no weight but with superficial minds, or with those who wished to decry this beneficial practice. It has, nevertheless, been employed as an argument, by certain illiberal and envious persons, who wished to depreciate the merits of Dr. Jenner, and on the ruins of his reputation to raise their own.

It has also been asserted, that no one can have the cow-pox twice; and that no one who has had the small-pox, can have the cow-pox, contrary to what had been advanced by Dr. Jenner. These assertions, however, have been refuted by abundant evidence; and all Dr. Jenner's principal positions, now established on a firm and solid basis, evince the accuracy of his observation, and complete his glory.

Other discoveries have been gradually evolved; the discoveries of other ingenious anatomists, published by themselves, led to that of Harvey; but this, like Minerva, sprung to light, not in a state of infancy and imbecility, but mature and perfect, and clad in impenetrable armour.

To describe the propagation of this inestimable practice, is the task of the vaccine historian, rather than that of the biographer. Suffice it to say, that it is now

well established in Great Britain, and making a rapid progress through the world.

It is much to be regretted, that inoculation of the small-pox is not prohibited; and that any hospital continues, in any shape, to disseminate that poison. When we reflect on the nature of Dr. Jenner's discovery, which is, to give new life to the human species, and on the obstacles it has met with from that quarter, we cannot but compare him to Prometheus, who stole fire from heaven for the same purpose;—and the Small-pox Hospital, to the box of Pandora, scattering plagues in every direction, to revenge the crime.

In the Medical Journal and the Medical Review for July 1800, Mr. Ring published the London testimonial in favour of vaccine inoculation, which he first proposed and circulated with a view to stem the torrent of popular prejudice, and to refute the false reports which were circulated by self-interested persons with great industry.

In the Medical Review for the same month he gives his opinion, contrary to what had been supposed by others, that the pustulous eruption which occurred in so many instances of vaccine inoculation at the Small-pox Hospital, was not excited by the cow-pox, but by the small-pox.

In the Medical Journal for August 1799, he had warned medical practitioners against exposing their patients to more than one infection at one time; but his warning was not regarded. In that memoir he had maintained that two morbid actions, and consequently two eruptive disorders, might co-exist, contrary to the opinion of our immortal Hunter.

He now gave a decided opinion that no confinement, and of course no hospital, is necessary for this disease, if indeed it deserves the name of a disease; and that if an hospital were necessary for those who wish to shun

the *small-pox*, the *Small-pox Hospital* is the last to which they should be sent.

He deprecated the mode of practice then pursued, to which one patient had already fallen a victim; and affirmed that it is in vain we shall endeavour to stop the ravages of the small-pox, while inoculation is practised at the Small-pox Hospital, and while the disease continues to issue in disguise from that polluted source.

After alluding to the experiments of Mr. Tanner, he concludes in the following words:

"Whatever may be the origin of vaccine virus, it must give every friend to the interests of humanity peculiar pleasure to contemplate its end. The feeble opposition which the practice has met with only serves to stimulate its advocates to new exertions, and to gain additional testimonies in its favour. It may now be considered as completely established; and I hope and trust it will be one of the first acts of the first Imperial Parliament of the British isles to bestow an adequate reward, if it can bestow an adequate reward, on that distinguished character to whom, under divine Providence, we are indebted for this blessing."

The following extract from Mr. Ring's letter, in the Medical Journal for August 1799, will shew what objections were urged against the practice of vaccination at that time, and furnish a sufficient refutation of those objections.

Dr. Moseley, in his treatise on sugar, lately published, expresses a suspicion that the cow-pox can only render the habit insusceptible of the small-pox *for a time*. This is refuted by volumes of evidence, and a cloud of witnesses.

He says, "Inoculation has disarmed the small-pox of its terrors. This is refuted by the whole world.

He asserts, "that accidents in the inoculated small-pox are uncommon." Would to God experience did not disprove that assertion, and convince practitioners in general, that no care, no skill, ever did, or ever can, tame that dreadful hydra—the small-pox!

He tells us, "We all know from experience that disease properly treated leaves nothing after it injurious to the constitution." That we do not all know it is certain: if Dr. Moseley has been so happy as to discover the secret, I hope his humanity will prompt him to disclose it.

It is well known that the small-pox, whether natural or insititious, is one of the most common causes of scrofula; and my experience leads me to believe, that the absurd custom of giving cathartics after this and other eruptive disorders, by debilitating the habit, augments their tendency to produce that horrid disease.

Dr. Moseley tells us, "he wishes not to discourage inquiry," and admits that "the object well deserves it;" yet, with some degree of inconsistence he adds, that he wishes "to guard parents against suffering their children becoming *victims to experiment.*" My wishes are not less ardent than his: he wishes to prevent children from becoming victims to *experiment*; I wish to prevent them from becoming *victims to the small-pox.*

Dr. Moseley intended his eccentric remarks, which are introduced rather mal-a-propos in a treatise on sugar, as an antidote for what he calls the *cow-mania.* He himself seems to labour under the *cow-phobia.*—He asks, if any person can say, "what may be the consequences of introducing a *bestial humour* into the human frame, after a long lapse of years?" I beg leave to ask, in my turn, if any person can say, what may be the consequences, after a long lapse of years, of introducing into the human frame, *cow's milk*, *beef-steaks* or *a mutton-chop?*

I hope medical men will in future be cautious how they prejudice the public mind against a fair trial of a practice, warranted by observation, and recommended by a physician of distinguished abilities, and not spread a serious alarm, where even the vulgar and illiterate,

who are generally most averse to all innovations, and of course to all improvement in the practice of physic, have not hitherto hinted a suspicion.

Dr. Moseley argues as if the cow-pox were a new disease in the human species; a supposition which it is unnecessary to refute. One of the advantages proposed by Dr. Jenner and Dr. Pearson, from the establishment of the new practice, is, that although the disorder in question is so common, and has long been well known in many parts of the kingdom, *it never has been suspected to leave behind it any other disease.*

In this memoir Mr. Ring endeavoured to remove those vain alarms which had been excited by the reports of Dr. Woodville and Dr. Pearson, and which had deterred the majority of medical men from adopting the practice. His efforts were not unsuccessful.

He was the first who represented vaccine inoculation in the favourable light in which it had been represented by Dr. Jenner. He stated, that those who were inoculated with pure vaccine matter scarcely laboured under the least indisposition, except what arose from the inflamation of the arm.

Having obtained some of the cow-pock matter, so successfully used by Dr. Jenner in his own practice, he inoculated all whom he could prevail on to submit to the operation gratuitously; and invited medical practitioners in general to accept, in a state of purity, what even in an impure state they could not otherwise procure in London, without purchasing it at a high price.

He has since inoculated a far greater number than any other practitioner in London, except Mr. Wachsel, of the Small-pox Hospital, and by disseminating vaccine virus throughout Great Britain and all parts of the world, free of expence, he has had some share in establishing vaccination; and in removing the principal obstacles to the propagation of the practice.

First he supplied gentlemen who belonged to public institutions; particularly the physician of the vaccine pock institution. Justly dreading the consequences that would ensue, if contaminated matter should be disseminated at the new place of sale for cow-pock matter, he expressed his apprehensions to Dr. Pearson; who availed himself of the offer of genuine matter, and accepted a liberal supply.

He also supplied Dr. Marshall and Dr. Walker with the vaccine virus with which they inoculated in the Mediterranean; and Mr. Rush, at the request of Dr. Marshall. Mr. Rush, although one of the surgeons of the vaccine pock institution, informed Dr. Marshall that he could not trust to any matter that did not come from the stock of Dr. Jenner. From this source Mr. Rush, at that time Inspector of hospitals, seconding the laudable zeal of Mr. Keate, surgeon-general to the army, drew a supply; in order to furnish the army surgeons under his direction with the means of securing our brave soldiers from the ravages of the small-pox.

These truths Dr. Jenner has always been the first to acknowledge. We lately saw a letter from him to a celebrated foreign physician, then in London, in which he says:

"I am happy to find you have been introduced to my friend Mr. Ring. The discovery, which I had the happiness to announce to the world, is much indebted to his ardent zeal, and indefatigable exertions, for the rapid progress it has made; while some of those who vainly conceived themselves instrumental in promoting its adoption, have in reality, from their ignorance and indiscretion, rather retarded than accelerated its progress."

Nothing has shewn in a more striking point of view, the immense advantage likely to result from vaccine inoculation, than the introduction of the practice into the army and navy. For the former we are indebted to

Mr. Keate and Mr. Rush; for the latter, to Dr. Trotter, Physician to the Fleet, and Dr. Blane at that time one of the commissioners of Sick and Hurt. Dr. Blane obtained an order from the Lords of the Admiralty to sanction his benevolent design.

On this occasion, the physicians and surgeons of the fleet presented a gold medal to Dr. Jenner, together with a suitable address.

In this address they observe, that Dr. Jenner is probably no stranger to the introduction of the new inoculation into the navy, by order of the Lords of the Admiralty. They say, by inquiries instituted in the Channel, it has been ascertained that the small-pox has been imported more than a hundred times within the last seven years; and in twenty different instances, within the last six months, by the grand fleet alone. They remark, that it is no wonder the disease was attended with uncommon mortality, when the subjects whom it attacked were so ill prepared for its reception.

The address then states, that as far as vaccine inoculation has been practised in the navy, it has been crowned with success. Those who have undergone that operation were not even entered on the sick list.

The authors of this important and memorable address then declare, that, although prevented by their situation from receiving the earliest intelligence of improvements in medical science, they have not been passive spectators of an event so singular, as a discovery of a substitute for the small-pox; an event, which the philosopher will contemplate with wonder, and the friend of the human species view with exultation.

The medal is embellished with proper devices. It represents Apollo, the god of physic, introducing a seaman recovered from vaccine inoculation to Britannia; who, in return, extends a civic crown, on which is inscribed—JENNER.

The motto is peculiarly happy:

ALBA NAUTIS STELLA REFULSIT.

On the reverse is an anchor: above, GEORGIO TERTIO REGE; below, SPENCER DUCE; expressing the the reign in which, and the name of noble Lord, in whose naval administration, and under whose auspices, this valuable improvement of the healing art was introduced into the navy of Great Britain.

Since that period vaccine inoculation has not only been generally practised in the army and navy at home, but it has been introduced into Gibraltar, Minorca, and Malta, and into the British fleets in the Mediterranean, by the zealous and indefatigable exertions of Dr. Marshall and Dr. Walker.

These gentlemen inoculated the soldiers in the different garrisons, together with their wives and children; and also extended the benefits of the Jennerian discovery to all ranks of people who would accept of that blessing.

Our brave soldiers and sailors employed in the expedition to Egypt were vaccinated, by orders from the Duke of York and the Lords of the Admiralty. The small-pox was in consequence twice extinguished in the fleet, and our gallant countrymen were preserved for a contest on which the fate of Europe depended;——a contest in which they proved successful.

On this occasion the vast advantage of Dr. Jenner's discovery was conspicuous; and when we recollect how long victory remained doubtful between the two contending armies in the East, it is not unwarrantable to suppose that vaccine inoculation had some share in turning the scale, and deciding the fortune of the war.

For these important services rendered to the state, Dr. Marshall and Dr. Walker received the thanks of Lord Keith and Lord Hutchinson, the two commanders

of the British forces by sea and land; but they did not meet with that remuneration at home which they had reason to expect.

Fortune may well be represented as blind, when she distributed her favours with so partial a hand. For claims more equivocal, and services less important, men have been raised to honours, decorated with titles, and glutted with wealth. When these philanthropists rescued the flower of our army and navy from a devouring pestilence, and preserved them to maintain the glory of the British arms; when they extinguished the flames of the small-pox in our garrisons and our fleets, by order of government, they did not expect, after their long, long labours, that they should be offered on their return the paltry reward of fifty pounds to be divided between them, and the barren laurels they had reaped on the coast of Malta.

Among other instances of public honours paid to Dr. Jenner, the following deserve to be recorded;

"At a meeting of the Medical Society, March 29th, 1802, it was unanimously resolved, That the members of the Medical Society of London, taking into consideration the very important discovery made by Dr. Jenner, are of opinion that great benefit will accrue to the inhabitants of these islands, and to mankind in general, from the introduction of Vaccine Inoculation; and from their own experience, as well as from the extensive and successful trials made in various parts of the world, that it will, in all probability, ultimately eradicate the small-pox, one of the most fatal diseases to which the human species is liable.

"Resolved, That a copy of this resolution, signed by the President, be presented to Dr. Jenner."

Ipswich, April 19th, 1802.

"We, the undersigned members of the Suffolk Society of Surgeons, having had ample opportunity of experiencing the safety and efficacy of the Vaccine Inoculation in preventing small-pox, introduced and now happily brought into general use, by your discovery, founded upon accurate and patiently conducted experiments, think it our duty to congratulate you, and to return you our grateful thanks for the invaluable advantages that the community at large have derived from your labours; which,

in the course of a few years, promise entirely to eradicate the dangerous and loathsome disease of small-pox. Signed by the President, &c."

"At the annual district meeting of the Benevolent Medical Society of Essex and Herts, held at Hatfield in Herts, May 3d, 1802—The undersigned being strongly impressed with the invaluable advantages that the public have derived from the introduction of the Vaccine Disease, by Doctor Jenner, as a substitute for the small-pox, are desirous of presenting their thanks to him for the liberality and indefatigable industry with which he has made it public."

The following is the testimonial of the Physical Society.

"We, the President and Members of the Physical Society of Guy's Hospital, deeply impressed with the importance of the discovery of Vaccine Inoculation, are anxious to express our opinion of its efficacy, and our profound veneration for its author, Doctor Jenner.

"We entertain a perfect conviction, that this inoculation is a certain preventive of the small-pox; and trust the period is not remote, when that dreadful scourge of the human race will become totally extinct.

"We are fully persuaded, that when Vaccination has been properly conducted, no instance has occurred of its having occasioned any dangerous consequence, or failed to produce those effects, which its discoverer has uniformly set forth.

"We further state our belief, that the Vaccine Inoculation, from its superior mildness, will not call forth those latent seeds of disease, which occasionally arise after the small-pox, even under the best management; and which otherwise might never have taken place.

"We feel the warmest sensations of gratitude and respect, for the liberal manner in which the author has communicated his discovery, uninfluenced by any motive of self consideration; and we contemplate the discovery itself as a memorable epoch in the annals of medicine.

"The society presumes to hope, that the author of this happy discovery will meet with that reward from his grateful country which he justly deserves, for having thus rendered himself the benefactor of mankind."

Previous to the passing of this resolution, a memoir on the subject of vaccine inoculation was fully discussed at the Physical Society, and Dr. Jenner attended the discussion on four successive nights, having received an express invitation from the Society for that purpose.

On his entering the theatre, he was constantly received with the most unbounded applause ; and as no debate was ever of greater importance, so it is probable, none ever attracted in a greater degree the attention of scientific men.

The preceding testimonial was the result, and a new order of merit was instituted, the members of which are to be called honorary associates. This distinction is only to be conferred on the authors of some notable discovery in medicine.

The diploma, which was presented to Dr. Jenner by the president, after an elegant oration, is as follows :

" Societas Physica, anno 1771 constituta, et in nosocomio Thomæ Guy habita, omnibus ad quos hæ pervenerint literæ salutem. Cum meritissimus ornatissimusque vir Edvardus Jenner, M. D. R. S. S. &c. non modo ingenii acumine, felici artis medicæ cultura, animoque ad optimum quodque parato, jamdudum inclaruerit, sed etiam Variolæ Vaccinæ Insitione in lucem prolato, stragem hominum, variolarum morbo antehac illatam, compescuerit, imo fere penitus in futurum represserit, sicque, dirum illud mortis telum obtundendo, de genere humano optime meruerit ; notum facimus, nos, præsatum virum primum inter socios maxime honorandos ascivisse et retulisse : In cujus rei fidem, has literas, meritissimis tantum concessas, manibus nostris signatas, expederi lubentissime, jussimus."

TRANSLATION.

The Physical Society, instituted in the year 1771, and held in Guy's Hospital, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting.

" Whereas, Edward Jenner, Doctor of Physic, Fellow of the Royal Society, &c. a man of singular merit and accomplishments has not only long since rendered himself eminent by his ingenuity, by his happy cultivation of the healing art, and a mind prompt in every liberal pursuit, but by publishing his discovery of Vaccine Inoculation, has restrained, and will hereafter totally annihilate, the ravages committed on the human species by the small-pox ; and thus, by blunting that dire dart of death, has deserved well of mankind. We hereby make known, that we have enrolled and incorporated the aforesaid Doctor Jenner, as the first among our honorary associates. In witness whereof, it is our pleasure, that these letters, only granted to persons of the most distinguished merit, should be published. Signed by our hands." Dated Feb. 20, 1802.

The county of Gloucester has afforded a memorable exception to the general rule, that no prophet is honoured in his own country, having resolved to present Dr. Jenner with a very handsome and valuable piece of plate, ornamented with devices emblematic of the benefits he has conferred on the community at large. We are informed, that the piece of plate will be a very large and superb cup, embellished with a figure of Apollo destroying Python. When our Apollo receives this tribute of gratitude and token of esteem, he will drink "Success to vaccination, and prosperity to the county of Gloucester."

As a proof of the high estimation in which Dr. Jenner is held by foreigners, we shall quote a passage from a letter of the celebrated Dr. De Carro, of Vienna, to Mr. Ring.

"Remember me to Dr. Jenner. No medical man ever excited my admiration and veneration so much. He is not only great by the magnitude of his discovery, but he is also great by the manner in which he conducted his researches; by the perfection which he gave to them before he published his work; and by the extreme modesty with which he speaks of himself. His fame increases daily; but I blush for all sovereigns, and all governments, which have not yet bestowed any public mark of their gratitude on that immortal benefactor of mankind."

We have lately seen, in the Bibliotheque Britannique, a letter from Dr. De Carro to Dr. Odier, of Geneva, in which he says, Those who are inoculated for the smallpox, and those who have it in the natural way, ought to be secluded from society, and to perform quarantine in lazarettoes, like those who have the plague; and when we see the united Parliament of three kingdoms granting a reward of ten thousand pounds to Dr. Jenner, for furnishing them with the means of extirpating the smallpox, it is strange it has hitherto done nothing towards putting those means into execution.

—— pudèt hæc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli.

With respect to the national reward conferred on Dr. Jenner, however inadequate it is to his merits, it exeeds any other reward ever granted by Parliament.

It was justly observed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that no pecuniary remuneration could be adequate to a service like this; and, indeed, when we consider how small a surplus will remain, after deducting all the expences incurred on this occasion by Dr. Jenner, we should rather be inclined to suppose it is meant for the redemption of the town of Berkeley, than that of the whole human race, from the ravages of the small-pox.

It was asserted, that to a mind like Dr. Jenner's, the thanks of the House constituted the better part of the reward. If officers of state would take the same coin in part of payment, half of their salaries may go towards the discharge of the national debt.

We shall here give a summary account of the advantages attending vaccine inoculation, partly deduced from the evidence collected by the Committee of the House of Commons, and partly from other sources.

1. It is a mild local disease; and indeed, can scarcely be said to deserve the name of a disease.

2. It is not infectious, except by actual inoculation.

3. It may be practised at any time of life, even during pregnancy; and at all seasons of the year.

4. It requires no preparation, alteration in diet, or physic.

5. It is not attended with danger, unless from ignorance or neglect.

6. It is a perfect security against the small pox; and if its use becomes universal must utterly exterminate that dreadful disease.

The Committee of the House of Commons, to whom the petition of Dr. Jenner was referred, state, in their

Report, that the utility of Vaccine Inoculation is confirmed by the testimony of a number of witnesses of the highest characters, and most extensive experience in the profession. Among these appear the names of Sir George Baker, Sir Walter Farquhar, Dr. Ash, Dr. Blane, Dr. Woodville, Dr. Pearson, Dr. Marshall, Dr. Dale, Dr. Denman, Dr. Croft, Dr. Baillie, Dr. Skey, Dr. Nelson, Dr. Thornton, Dr. Lister, Dr. Bradley, Dr. Sims, Dr. Saunders, Dr. Frampton, and Dr. Lettsom.

The following surgeons corroborated their testimony. Mr. Home, Mr. Knight, Mr. Pope, Mr. Griffiths, Mr. Addington, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Jordan, Mr. Keate, Mr. Cline, Mr. Ring, and Mr. Taylor.

The evidence of these professional men was still further confirmed by that of his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Berkeley, Lord Rous, the reverend Mr. Jenner, and Mr. Gardner.

Many of the witnesses had submitted their own children to the salutary process of vaccination; others had recommended it, and others had practised it with the happiest success.

"Dr. Woodville stated, that seven thousand five hundred patients had been inoculated for the vaccine disease at the Small-pox Hospital, up to January last; and half of that number had since been inoculated with variolous matter, but in vain."

"The Rev. Mr. Jenner had inoculated three thousand persons with vaccine matter, without meeting with one unfavourable case; though he had inoculated at all ages, and under all circumstances. Upwards of two hundred of his patients had been subjected to the test of the small-pox by inoculation, and an equal number in the natural way, but without effect."

"Dr. Marshall stated, that the number inoculated under his direction was upwards of ten thousand; many of whom were afterwards exposed to variolous contagion, which they resisted."

" Dr. Nelson stated, that seven hundred persons had been inoculated with the cow-pock, at the Vaccine Pock Institution; and that a considerable number of them had since been exposed to the small-pox."

" Mr. Ring stated, that he considered Dr. Jenner as the author of Vaccine inoculation; and the discovery itself as being, beyond all comparison, the most valuable and important ever made by man. He believes it to be a perfect and permanent security against the small-pox. He had inoculated upwards of twelve hundred persons with vaccine matter, and had reason to believe, that at least a thousand of them had been, either voluntarily or involuntarily, exposed to the infection of the small-pox, which they all resisted.

" He is of opinion, that Vaccine Inoculation is attended with no danger, unless from ignorance or neglect. He thinks that if Dr. Jenner had not divulged his discovery, his practice might have been worth ten thousand pounds per annum." In this opinion several of the principal evidences coincided.

" The Committee affirms, that those persons whom they examined, had both the most ample experience of facts, and the best means of forming a judgment upon them. They affirm, that Dr. Jenner had not reaped any advantage from his discovery, but rather sustained a loss.

" They conclude with observing, that what Dr. Jenner's gains might have been, had he concealed his discovery, as far as men in great practice themselves can form a conjecture, may be collected from the testimonies contained in their report; in which they declare, " no more than justice is done to the liberality and public spirit of Dr. Jenner, who had rendered his discovery rather an object of universal utility to the human race, than of emolument to himself."

Long before this period, the new practice had been subjected to the most severe test in almost every nation in Europe; and the more strictly it was scrutinized, the more it was applauded. Not only Great Britain, but the continent of Europe, was ambitious to incorporate the illustrious Jenner with her learned societies, and to interweave his laurels with her own. America has followed her example.

As a noble instance of a nation at war spurning popular prejudice, and acknowledging merit in a rival, we shall present our readers with an extract from the address of the faculty of the department of the Somme to

his excellency Marquis Cornwallis, minister plenipotentiary of England at the congress of Amiens.

" They state, that a vast number of experiments in vaccination had been made in that department; and that those experiments had stamped the practice with the seal of infallibility. They observe, that the honour of this discovery is due to England: and that while governments wield the thunder of war, the friends of science rest in peace.

" They wish the additional glory, acquired by the result of their experiments, may be transmitted to the author of the discovery, Dr. Jenner. They maintain, that the opposition to this useful art, arises from avarice and self-interest. They aver, that " the experiments which they have made, confirm decisively the admirable invention, for which they are indebted to the Medical science of England."

This beneficial practice is patronised by Jefferson in the new world, and by the Emperor of Germany, the Empress Dowager of Prussia, and the King of Prussia in the old. France, that other cradle of arts and sciences, has also cherished this infant practice with maternal affection. All nations trust their health to this anchor of hope with confidence.

His Prussian Majesty was the first crowned head who submitted his own offspring to vaccine inoculation. The Emperor of Germany, who had offered rewards for the encouragement of the practice, followed his example.

Her Imperial Majesty, the empress dowager of Prussia, has deigned to honour vaccination with her constant patronage, from the period when it was first introduced into Prussia; and, as a token of esteem, her Majesty has sent Dr. Jenner a very valuable diamond ring by the hands of Lord St. Helens, accompanied with a letter, of which the following is a translation.

" Sir,

" The practice of Vaccine Inoculation in England having been attended with the happiest success, which is well attested, I have eagerly imitated that example, by introducing it into the charitable establishments under my direction.

" My endeavours having perfectly answered my expectations, I feel a pleasure in reporting their success, and in testifying my acknowledgments to him, who has rendered this signal service to humanity.

" This motive induces me to offer to you, Sir, the Ring sent herewith, as a testimony of the sentiments of esteem and regard with which I am,

Yours affectionately,

MARY."

PAULOWSKY,
August 10th, 1802.

We now leave the subject of this memoir happy in the reflection, that he has conferred a singular benefit on the human race. Were we to accompany him into the recesses of a private life, we should find him polite, liberal, generous, and humane: but it has been our principal aim to delineate his public character. It is that which will transmit his name to the latest posterity; it is that which entitles him to all the rewards, and all the honours, a grateful country can bestow.

(1801-2.)

MAJOR GENERAL IRA ALLEN,

OF VERMONT.

THE singular and extraordinary man, the particulars of whose life we are about to detail, is a native of the American woods, and his history is in some measure connected with the American revolution. He was born in the town of Cornwall, in the county of Litchfield, and state of Connecticut, about the year 1752, and appears early in life to have been actuated by the adventurous spirit of many of his countrymen, who not

finding *sufficient room* for their exertions in the old settlements on the borders of the Atlantic, penetrated through forests and across mountains, in the ardour of enterprize, and subjected the unclaimed and uncultivated desert to the purposes of their ambition.

At length, however, the adjacent colonies began to form a just notion of the growing importance of these remote inhabitants of the forest, and the respective governors and legislatures actually granted the same territories to different individuals. Hence, long anterior to the hostilities which terminated in the independence of North America, dissentions prevailed in many parts of the back settlements; and to such a pitch were these carried at length, on the banks of Lake Champlain, about the year 1770, that something bordering or a civil war actually ensued.

These disputes chiefly originated in the opposite pretensions of two rival parties, one claiming under grants from the governor of New Hampshire; the other pretending to have a superior right in the same property, in consequence of similar grants from the governor of New-York.

At length the New Hampshire people, who were settled on the territory in question, actually took arms, elected Ethan Allen (an elder brother of Ira) their colonel, and many depredations were committed on both sides, which sufficiently evinced the temporary suspension of legal authority, and the prevalence of superior strength.

At this early period, Mr. Ira Allen, who was then very young, was appointed a lieutenant under Colonel Ethan Allen, who headed the defenders of the New Hampshire titles; and he appears to have been an active partizan in the cause wherein he engaged.

From this time until the battle of Bunker's-hill, he employed himself chiefly in exploring the country bor-

dering upon Lake Champlain; in making settlements there; in defending the New Hampshire titles, and in acquiring a considerable landed estate, subject of course to the contingency of an ultimate decision in favour of the claims set up by him and his friends. Immediately after the skirmish at Lexington, on the 19th of April, 1775, the governor and council of Connecticut dispatched messengers to Colonel E. Allen, requesting his assistance against the British forts and garrisons in that quarter. He accordingly accompanied Colonel (afterwards General) Arnold in this enterprize, and they actually surprized and took the garrisons of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, St. John's, a sloop of war of 16 guns, about eighty prisoners, near three hundred pieces of cannon, shot, shells, &c. Lieutenant Ira Allen, who was employed on this service, afterwards conveyed Brook Watson, then Commissary-general, down Lake Champlain with a flag of truce.

On the declaration of independence, which Congress announced on the 4th of July 1776, the country which now forms the State of Vermont called a convention on the part of that district, for the establishment of its internal jurisprudence; and on this occasion Mr. Ira Allen was not only elected one of the representatives of the people, but also nominated member of a select committee, appointed to visit and explain to certain counties the nature of the revolution, both as it respected the general and particular grounds of complaint against the mother country.

Mr. Allen had also a principal share in a resolution passed by the convention on the 15th of January 1777, which declared the people of that country a free and independent jurisdiction, by the name of "New Connecticut;" and appointed the ensuing convention for the establishment of a bill of rights and a new model of government. The bill of rights was transmitted to Congress by commissioners; and on their return, Mr. Ira Allen published a pamphlet in support of the independence thus assumed.

Mr. Allen was next nominated a member of a committee of safety appointed to confer with the commanding officer of Ticonderoga, concerning measures of public defence. During this conference General Burgoyne made his appearance on Lake Champlain, and General Poor, who commanded in that quarter, refused them any other military assistance than the permission for Colonel Warner to raise a body of volunteers. Ticonderoga was of course speedily evacuated, and the situation of Mr. Allen and his adherents began to assume a serious aspect, they being placed as it were between two fires, General Burgoyne on the one side, and the New-Yorkers on the other.

Mr. Allen, however, suggested and carried into effect a plan for the support of a regiment, by the confiscation and sale of the estates of disaffected persons. This regiment, together with that of Colonel Warner, chiefly at the instigation of Mr. Allen, placed themselves under the command of General Starke, from New Hampshire; and the individuals composing both, unanimously refused obedience to the orders of General Schuyler, then at the head of the troops of New-York. These were the men who afterwards fought the battle of Bennington against Colonels Baum and Skene. In December 1777, Mr. Allen seems to have had a principal share in forming the constitution of Vermont, which was printed and distributed under his superintendance, antecedent to a general election, on the 12th of March 1778. Immediately after the election the first general assembly was held at Windsor, on which occasion Mr. Ira Allen was appointed a member of the executive council, and treasurer of the state.

Not long after this period, the legislature of Vermont nominated him surveyor-general of the state lands. He was also sent by them, in quality of an agent, to adjust certain misunderstandings respecting jurisdiction, &c. with the general court of New Hampshire, on which occasion he conducted himself to the entire satisfaction of both parties.

Soon after this Mr. Allen was appointed a colonel in the militia of Vermont; and the claims of three different states to the territories of Vermont, viz. New-York, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, having given rise to considerable dissensions among the people, Ethan and Ira Allen deemed it expedient, on two several occasions, to take the colonels of New-York and their militia prisoners; they, however, were at length released, on their acknowledging the jurisdiction of the courts of Vermont and the paying of a small fine.

Dr. Witherspoon, Mr. Atley and others, were at length appointed commissioners on the part of congress to visit the country of Vermont, and to collect information concerning the discordant claims of territorial jurisdiction. On their report a number of recommendatory resolutions were passed by the legislature, with a design to reconcile the contending parties to their ultimate decision.

The legislature of Vermont continued, nevertheless, to exercise a sovereign jurisdiction; to sell the confiscated, to grant the vacant lands, and to report their proceedings regularly to congress.

At the sitting of the legislature of Vermont, in October 1779, Colonel Ira Allen was appointed a commissioner to discover the disposition of the respective states south of New-York, towards the independence of the state of Vermont; with instructions to urge the consequence which that new state had acquired in the war, and their "natural and divine" right to form a government for themselves.

The governor and council of Vermont, although they now offered to account to congress for the amount of the confiscated lands, and also to contribute their quota towards the expences of the war, *provided they obtained a recognition of their independence in return*, yet they were unable to obtain any favourable decision from that

body. On this they published an "Appeal to the World," supposed to be drawn up by their treasurer, and congress having voted certain resolutions hostile to their pretensions, in the spring of 1780, these resolutions were immediately followed by a very spirited remonstrance on the part of the infant state, accompanied by a conditional threat to suspend hostilities against Great Britain.

In April 1781, Colonel Ira Allen was appointed by the governor and council of Vermont to settle a cartel, and also to agree to an armistice with the British troops in Canada; and he accordingly proceeded thither with full powers, accompanied only by a subaltern officer, two serjeants, and twelve privates. He was met by commissioners from the British commander in chief at Isle aux Noix; and the terms of an armistice and exchange were there settled, *secretly* and *verbally*, for the whole territory of Vermont.

The articles respecting the exchange of prisoners were laid before the legislature by Colonel Allen, in consequence of a reference to him by the governor on opening the business of the session; but the business of the *armistice* was kept carefully concealed by the council. —A secret correspondence was afterwards carried on between the British commander in Canada, and Colonels Ethan and Ira Allen in Vermont.

In June 1781, Colonel Ira Allen and several of the commissioners were again appointed to wait on congress. At this juncture, an intercepted letter from Lord George Germain to Sir Henry Clinton had so alarmed this body, with the dread of a schism on the part of Vermont, that more respect was now paid to the delegates from that country; and, on the 7th of August 1781, the legislature passed resolutions of a favourable nature, appointed a committee to confer with the delegates, and finally

proposed the admission of Vermont into the union as an independent state.

Notwithstanding this, Colonel Allen, in conjunction with a Major Fay, met the British commissioners at Skeensborough, for the purpose of exchanging prisoners; and they took care to furnish them with copies of the interrogatories made on the part of the committee of congress.

The plan of government for the people of Vermont, which had been lately acknowledged as a sovereign state by the American Congress, was now modelled into that of a British colony: it was also settled at this interview, that his Majesty should appoint one of the citizens of that country governor, but that the lieutenant-governor and the legislature should be chosen by the people.—The organization of a military force was strenuously insisted on by the British commissioners; but Colonel Allen found means to parry this proposition, and even to reason them out of it. He was obliged, however, notwithstanding his reluctance, to consent that a military force should come up the lake in October, for the purpose of distributing proclamations announcing Vermont a British colony, (provided however that the people were *perfectly disposed to it*) and after agreeing to these terms the parties separated.

The legislature of Vermont having assembled in October, the armistice with the British was concealed, and the usual appearances kept up by small parties of observation. One of these, however, who were not in the secret of the armistice, happened to attack an out-post belonging to the English, and lost their serjeant. This affair produced some confusion; but Colonel Allen contrived to continue his correspondence and connexion with the British commissioners.

In the mean time, the legislature of Vermont refused its assent to the late resolutions of congress, and insisted on unconditional admission into the union, as a sove-

reign people, leaving all other disputes to a subsequent adjustment. They also passed laws, and appointed commissioners to negociate concerning their differences, and settle their boundaries with the adjacent states. But these measures do not appear to have produced any salutary effect; for the recent surrender of Lord Cornwallis' army had left the states of New-Hampshire and New-York at leisure to enforce their respective claims. The militia of New-York, under General Ganesvoort, was accordingly marched into the western parts of Vermont, where they encamped: the people of that country, under the command of Colonel Abbot, took the field likewise, but they did not commence hostilities. The militia of New Hampshire were also said to be in motion.

In this state of affairs, Colonel Allen was dispatched to Governor Chittenden, in order to obtain his mediation between the contending parties. Having visited both encampments, and exhorted both to forbearance, he returned home immediately, and recommended that a superior force to that of New-York should be sent to the assistance of the people of Vermont. This was accordingly effected, under the command of a Colonel Walbridge; and after several letters had passed between this officer and General Ganesvoort, the latter prudently retired without bloodshed.

Governor Chittenden having written to General Washington on the subject of the independence of Vermont, received an answer from him, decidedly in favour of the sovereignty of that state, dated the 1st of January, 1782. Shortly after this, a party of loyal recruits, raised in Vermont, were taken with their officer by a body of the American adherents; but by the address of Colonel Allen, and according to the terms of his *secret armistice*, the lives of these men appear to have been saved; and they were exchanged for double their number of prisoners in Canada. From that time to the treaty of peace in 1783, congress seem to have

been counteracting their own resolutions in respect to Vermont; while Colonel Allen appears to have managed matters on both sides, and to have carried on a secret and confidential intercourse with General Haldimand in Canada.

Immediately after the peace of 1783, the governor and council of Vermont appointed Colonel Ira Allen their commissioner, to concert measures with the legislature of Canada for opening a free trade with Lake Champlain; and he seems also to have had secret instructions to *sound* the conditions and terms on which Vermont might be ultimately received as a British colony, notwithstanding the late treaty had acknowledged and recognized it as a part of the federal union. At length, however, the state of New-York having passed conciliatory laws, the people of Vermont did the same on their part, and paid to that state a compensation of thirty thousand dollars for the extinction of her claims; and a convention of Vermont having now decided the general disposition of the people to be in favour of their remaining an independent state, rather than becomnig a British colony, they elected representatives, and were formally received into the congress of the United States, in 1791.

In the course of the same year, Mr. Allen obtained an act of the legislature for the establishment of an university at Burlington, on Lake Champlain, pursuant to his memorial of 1789: and to this institution he then became the donor of lands, which have been since valued at four thousand pounds sterling. Soon after this, he rose to the rank of eldest major-general in Vermont.

After various negotiations in Canada for the accommodation of the commerce of Vermont through the St. Lawrence, and for cutting a canal from the river leading into Lake Champlain to join the river St. Lawrence near Montreal, at his own expence and risk, General Allen set out on a voyage to England in 1795, for the

avowed purpose of establishing a commercial correspondence, purchasing arms for the militia of Vermont, and negotiating for his Majesty's permission to cut the above mentioned canal. So far as we are furnished with documents, it does not appear that his applications concerning the navigation of Vermont have been attended with success.

In the prosecution of that part of his mission which relates to the *military* interests of Vermont, and which has made a considerable noise in the English courts of admiralty, he set out from London on the 24th of May, 1796, in search of arms. Having understood, as he says, that he could not export them from England without an order of the King in council, he proceeded to the continent, where he purchased of the French republic, through their agent the minister of war, twenty thousand muskets, bayonets, &c. twenty-four brass cannons, 4-pounders, six gun carriages, and six ammunition waggons. He accordingly shipped on board the *Olive Branch*, William Bryant, master, at Ostend, 14,730 muskets, 14,730 bayonets, 1091 scabbards for bayonets, 21 French brass field-pieces, 4-pounders, three travelling carriages for ditto, 12 sponges for field-pieces, three wadhooks for ditto, six ammunition boxes for ditto, 18 handspikes for ditto, three elevating screws, 12 wood master-bars, with one pair of swingle-trees to each, for horses to draw the carriages, and two pair of separate swingle-trees.

On the 19th of November 1796, in the course of his voyage to New-York, being about 60 leagues to the westward of Scilly, he was captured by his Majesty's ship Audacious, Davige Gould, commander, and brought into Portsmouth. After a tedious litigation, in the court of admiralty of Great Britain, the cause was carried before the Lords Commissioners of appeals, where it is understood to be still depending.

This event has been attended with the most disastrous consequences to General Allen, as it has deranged his

private concerns, prevented all attention to his commercial pursuits, and subjected him more than once to be shut up in a spunging-house.

It having been insinuated in the course of the legal proceedings that General Allen had not the concurrence of Governor Chittenden, in this undertaking, as had been asserted, a cloud of suspicion was in consequence thrown on this extraordinary purchase, and he determined to go to France for the testimonies required; and having procured passports to this end from the alien office, he went from London to Paris about the month of June 1798, where, we understand, he has until very lately been imprisoned.

General Allen is not yet fifty years of age; he is a married man, and has several children. In point of stature he is below the middle size, and his person and address are both prepossessing. He has habitually acquired a command over his passions; is cheerful, good tempered and benevolent; but somewhat positive in his opinions, which has, however, given an air of firmness to all his public measures.

During the course of the trial alluded to, General Allen printed the whole proceedings, as taken down by a short-hand writer; and he has also published the History of the State of Vermont, which, according to his account, contained the progressive population, in fighting men, annexed to the respective periods, as follows, viz.

In 1781,	they	were	estimated at	7,000.
1792,	—	—	—	18,500.
1798,	—	—	— near	30,000.

Yet it is but a few years back that the whole country was a wilderness, overgrown with wood, the receptacle of wild beasts, and unimpressed by the foot-steps of man! Mr. Ira Allen, who had shared in all its infant strug-

gles, has lived to see Vermont attain an unexampled degree of prosperity, and after achieving its independence, has beheld it become an important state in the American union; while he himself, by a cruel reverse of fortune, equally sudden and unexpected, after endowing an university, and acting as a legislator and a general, has been subjected in one foreign country to all the rigours of imprisonment, and in another to all the miseries attendant on confiscation.

(1802-3.)

EARL STANHOPE.

CHARLES Earl Stanhope, the second son of Philip the late Earl, by Grizel Hamilton, grand-daughter to Thomas Earl of Haddington of Scotland, was born August the 3d, 1753. This nobleman, celebrated for his exertions and ardour in the cause of public liberty, is distinguished also for his decent from ancestors as eminent for patriotism, as for their high rank and extraordinary abilities. It will not, therefore, it is presumed, be unacceptable to the public, if, in this place, we communicate a few particulars relating to the two first Earls of this family.

James Earl Stanhope, descended from a very ancient family in the county of Nottingham, was born in the year 1673.——He entered at an early period of his life, in the army, and served under King William in the war against France; during which, and particularly at the siege of Namur, he distinguished himself so much to the King's satisfaction, as to receive from His Majesty a company of foot, and soon after a commission as Co-

lonel of the 33d regiment. In the war which was undertaken for the purpose of placing Charles, the second son of the Emperor Leopold, on the throne of Spain, Colonel Stanhope, while commanding a regiment of foot at Porta Legra, in Portugal, was surrounded by King Philip's army, and he and his whole regiment were made prisoners of war. He was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General in the year 1705, and in the next campaign he gained very considerable reputation at the siege of Barcelona, under the command of Lord Peterborough.

General Stanhope planned and completed the conquest of Minorca in 1708. Having landed on the island about ten miles from St. Philip's fort, on the 26th of August, with three thousand men, the General caused batteries to be erected, and ordered a number of arrows to be shot into the place, to which papers were affixed, written in the Spanish and French languages, containing threats that the whole garrison should be sent to the mines if they did not immediately surrender. The garrison consisted of sixteen hundred men, commanded by Colonel la Jonquiere. So artfully had General Stanhope drawn up his men, as to impress the minds of the enemy with the idea that they were besieged by an army of at least ten thousand soldiers. This stratagem had the desired effect. On the third day, the garrison capitulated, and so completely mortified was the Spanish Governor, when he learned the real number of the besiegers, that he threw himself out of a window, in despair, and was killed on the spot. La Jonquiere was imprisoned for life, and the other French officers incurred their Monarch's displeasure.

In 1710, General Stanhope headed the allied troops, killed the Spanish commander with his own hand, and placed the victorious banners of England upon the walls of Madrid; but before the end of the same year the General experienced a reverse of fortune, and he together with two thousand choice British troops were made

prisoners of war at the small town of Brihuega. On this account he afterwards incurred the censure of the House of Lords.

Soon after the arrival of King George the First, General Stanhope was appointed one of the principal Secretaries of State, and a member of the Privy Council. He was also employed in several highly important foreign negotiations. In the year 1717, he was appointed First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. A short time after he had attained to these distinguished offices, he was created a Peer of Great Britain. On the thirteen of December, 1718, Earl Stanhope brought into the House of Peers a bill for the repeal of some clauses in the Corporation and Test Acts, which, after a violent opposition from the Tory Lords and the Bench of Bishops, was, with some small alterations, carried through both Houses of Parliament, and received the Royal sanction. This nobleman, distinguished as a General, Statesman, and Senator, died in the year 1720, deeply regretted by the King, whose favourite Minister he had been, and highly respected by the nation, for whose interests he had ever manifested an indefatigable and truly disinterested zeal.

Lord Stanhope was succeeded in his titles by Philip the late Earl, who being but seven years of age, was, by the will of his father, confided to the guardianship of Philip Dormer, the celebrated Earl of Chesterfield. This nobleman, strongly attached to the study of the belles-lettres, and what is usually denominated polite learning, conceived every other species of knowledge of inferior or even trifling value, and absolutely prohibited his young relation and ward from the pursuits of mathematical studies, for which he appeared to have a natural and strong bias. Notwithstanding this injunction, which, to say the least, reflected no honour either on the head or the heart of Lord Chesterfield, when the young Lord advanced to more mature years, he applied

himself to his favourite study with so much avidity, as to become one of the first mathematicians of the age. His predilection, however, for the sciences, properly so called, did not prevent him from attaining the most profound and extensive knowledge of the classics. At no very advanced period of his life he was a complete master of the Latin and Greek languages, and could, without the smallest hesitation, repeat the whole of the Iliad and the Odyssey of Homer in the original language; he diligently cultivated an acquaintance with the poets and historians of antiquity through the whole of his life, spending several hours of each day either in classical reading, or in the investigation of theorems in the higher and more sublime branches of geometry. Lord Stanhope acquired also a complete knowledge of many modern languages, in which he could maintain a conversation with as much ease and fluency as if they had been his vernacular tongue.

A person so formed for the pursuits of literature, in all its various branches would, it may be easily supposed, have no great ambition to be distinguished as a politician or a statesman. His Lordship, indeed, seldom attended his place in the House of Peers, except on occasions when he conceived himself called upon by the obligations of duty which he owed to his country. In the year 1742 we find him in his place in the Senate, when the several estimates of the expence occasioned by foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain, were taken into consideration. His Lordship then, at the close of an elegant and pathetic speech, moved for an address to beseech and advise his Majesty, "that, in compassion "to his people, loaded already with such numerous and "heavy taxes, such large and growing debts, and greater annual expences than the nation at any time before "had ever sustained, he would exonerate his subjects "of the charge and burthen of those mercenaries who "were taken into the service last year without the advice or consent of Parliament."

Earl Stanhope's name is likewise enrolled among those of many other patriotic noblemen in several protests against measures which appeared to his mind hostile to the constitution of his country, and to the real interests of public liberty. Perhaps no man ever lived who possessed sounder principles, and a more inflexible integrity than his Lordship. It was either in the earlier attempts made by the British Administration, to subjugate America, or on the question of the Middlesex Election, that this nobleman travelled from Geneva, where he resided for several years, to give his voice against the measure, and finding his exertion of no avail, he soon after returned to the continent, to enjoy domestic privacy among his family and books. At this period his Lordship, whose dress always corresponded to the simplicity of his manners, was once prevented from going into the House of Peers by a door-keeper, who was unacquainted with his person. Lord Stanhope persisted in endeavouring to get into the House without thinking to explain who he was; and the door-keeper, determined also on his part, made use of these words: "Ho-" nest man, you have no business here—*Honest man*, " you *can* have no business in *this place*."

In the year 1774, Earl Stanhope took his leave of Geneva, where he had spent about ten years, greatly respected and beloved by all who had the honour of his acquaintance. His Lordship's extensive hospitality and beneficence are still remembered with affection and gratitude, not only by the inhabitants of that small republic, but by many of his own countrymen who visited Geneva in their foreign travels.

From this period we believe his Lordship took but a small share in the public transactions of his country. He divided his time between his town residence and his seat at Chevening in Kent, devoting himself closely for several hours in the day to classical and mathematical studies, which had long become his habitual amusement.

It is much to be regretted that learning so profound, and talents so rare, should have been applied almost entirely to his own gratification, and that he had not consecrated part of his time to the publication of the result of those researches which had engaged his attention for more than half a century. To his Lordship's munificence, however, the public are indebted for the posthumous works of Dr. Robert Simson, which were printed at his own expence, and a copy or copies of which he sent to every learned society in Europe, as well as to all the most distinguished mathematicians both of his own and foreign countries. It appears likewise that Dr. Simson was indebted to this nobleman for the ninety-eighth proposition of Euclid's data. To him also the public are under considerable obligations for the most complete and magnificent edition of the works of the great Archimedes, which were prepared for the press by the learned Joseph Torelli, of Verona, and were printed in the year 1782 at the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

From the circumstance of many valuable works of science being dedicated to his Lordship, among which were Dodson's Logarithms, and the third volume of Dr. Priestley's Experiments on Air and other branches of Natural Philosophy, we may infer that he was the liberal patron of several learned men.

Philip Earl Stanhope died March 7, 1786, leaving behind him a son, whose public character we are now to delineate ; and a widow, who, at a very advanced age, is still living in the enjoyment of health and unimpaired faculties, and much of whose time is devoted to acts of benevolence, and to the perusal of the best modern authors in the English and French languages. That she may yet long continue in the exercise of these duties and amusements must be the prayer of all who know her.

His Lordship's eldest son Philip, dying July 6th, 1763, he was succeeded in his estates and titles by Charles

the present Earl Stanhope, who, when he had scarcely attained to eight years of age, was sent to Eton school, where he had not resided two years before the health of his elder brother rendered a change of climate expedient. His noble parents sought at Geneva the recovery of their son, of which there were no hopes if he remained in England. Thither the whole family repaired, and were scarcely settled in, perhaps, the finest situation in Europe, when the death of a beloved son damped their joys, and forbad them to taste of those delights which flattering but deceitful hope had led them almost to anticipate. Thus the grand object of their journey was defeated. Conceiving, however, the climate of Great Britain to have been inauspicious to the rearing of one child, the noble Lord formed the resolution of educating his remaining heir in a more southern country. Upon the present venerable and learned M. le Sage of Geneva, devolved, in a great measure, the education of Lord Mahon, which was the title he succeeded to upon the death of his brother. His Lordship is frequently heard to mention the name of his preceptor with considerable respect. He even goes so far as to pronounce M. le Sage the most learned man in Europe; to this, however, the public will never assent, till they are in possession of more facts than those with which this philosopher has furnished them.*

During his Lordship's residence at Geneva, it does not appear that he at any time applied himself to classical studies, and his noble relation Lord Chesterfield, could not conceive a meaner opinion of mathematical learning than the present Earl Stanhope possesses for the knowledge to be obtained by the study of the dead languages.

* M. Le Sage has, we believe, never published any work excepting a small tract, the object of which is to account for the cause of gravity, but which is very far from being a satisfactory solution of the difficulty in which the subject is involved.

This tract was first published in the French or Berlin Transactions, and afterwards was separately re-printed.

He did not, however, waste his time in indolence nor consume it in those fashionable follies to which persons of his rank frequently think themselves almost exclusively entitled. He was ever devoted to experimental philosophy, and at the age of seventeen or eighteen, he was the successful candidate for a prize, offered by the Swedish Society of Arts and Sciences to the person who should produce the best treatise on the structure of the pendulum. His Lordship's essay delivered on the occasion was written in the French language, and was afterwards published in some foreign transactions. It has never been translated or printed in England.

Lord Mahon distinguished himself also in a very high degree in a variety of athletic and equestrian exercises. He enrolled himself in the Genevois militia, and became so expert a marksman, that with a rifle barrelled gun he could, at the proper distance, hit any given space of the size of a shilling for several successive times with almost undeviating certainty; this talent his Lordship is said still to possess.

Geneva, at this period, was very much frequented by the English, and though in general they were on friendly and even sociable terms with the citizens of that small republic, yet they never were so completely united as at this time, which was ascribed principally to the popularity deservedly enjoyed by Earl Stanhope's family. No one of our young countrymen ever possessed more, or perhaps even so much, of the confidence of the Genevois as Lord Mahon: he joined with alacrity in all their amusements; he entered with spirit and zeal into all their military exercises, and excelled most of the natives in the dexterity of the evolutions; he attached himself to what was esteemed the popular political party.* To

* The following anecdote, related by Dr. Moore, is generally understood as applying to Lord Mahon:

"Walking (in Geneva) one afternoon with a young nobleman, who, to a strong taste for natural philosophy, unites a passionate zeal for civil liberty, we passed near

all this may be added, the hospitality, generosity, and benevolence uniformly manifested to all ranks of people by the noble parents of this young man.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that no family was ever more regretted than this when they took a final farewell of Geneva. "I saw them," says Dr. Moore, "leave the place; their carriage could with difficulty "move through the multitude, who were assembled in "the streets. Numbers of the poorer sort, who had "been relieved by their secret charity, unable longer "to obey the injunctions of their benefactors, pro- "claimed their gratitude. The young gentleman (Lord "Mahon) was obliged to come out again and again to "his old friends and companions, who pressed around "the coach to bid him farewell, and express their sor- "row for his departure, and their wishes for his pros- "perity. The eyes of the parents overflowed with "tears of happiness; and the whole family carried along "with them the affections of the greater part, and the "esteem of all the citizens."

At the general election which happened in the autumn of the year 1774, we find Lord Mahon again in his native country, offering himself, in conjunction with Lord Montmorres, as a candidate to represent the city of Westminster in Parliament. After the poll had been continued for several days the two noble Lords declined the contest in favour of their competitors.

In the course of the next year his Lordship published a small tract, entitled, "Considerations on the Means of preventing fraudulent Practices on the Gold Coin." The object of this tract was to recommend certain me-

the garden in which one of those circles which support the magistracy assemble. I proposed joining them: "No," said my Lord with indignation, "I will not go for a "moment into such a society. I consider these men as the enemies of their country, "and that place as a focus for consuming freedom."

See *View of Society and Manners in France*, &c.

thods of coinage, by which an imitation would be rendered exceedingly difficult, and even impossible to any but the most skilful and ingenious workmen. And his Lordship supposed it would not be worth the while of such persons to expose themselves to the severe punishments that are inflicted upon people convicted of coining.——It is evident, however, that this opinion was exceedingly erroneous, since no set of men in this country ever possessed more talents and ingenuity than those who have adopted the various methods of forgery as the means of support. To the little State of Geneva, where it appears that this work was written, and where a detection of public crimes was comparatively easy, the reasoning contained in this work was much better adapted than to the metropolis of Great Britain, where men are found embarking in these fraudulent practices, who, with the exertion of half their talents and labour, might have lived with the greatest respectability to themselves, and usefulness to their country.

During the year 1777, Lord Mahon instituted a variety of experiments for the purpose of ascertaining the best and cheapest methods of securing buildings from the effects of fire.* The plan adopted by his Lordship may be considered as an improvement upon Mr. Hart-

* For a practical account of the manner adopted by Lord Mahon, to secure buildings from damage by fire, we must refer to the Philosophical Transactions for the year 1778, or the twenty-second volume of Dodsley's Annual Register. We shall, however, insert in this place two or three concluding paragraphs of his Lordship's paper:

"On the 26th of September, 1777, I had the honour to repeat some of my experiments before the President and some of the Fellows of the Royal Society, the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen of the City of London, the Committee of City Lands, several of the Foreign Ministers, and a great number of other persons.

"The first experiment was to fill the lower room of a wooden building (which room was about twenty-six feet long by sixteen wide) full of shavings and faggots, mixed with combustibles, and to set them all on fire. The heat was so intense, that the glass of the windows was melted like so much common sealing-wax, and

ley's method by means of iron plates, both on account of its durability and cheapness. They both depend on the same principle, which is as simple as it is certain in its effects, viz. that where there is no current of air, there can be no fire: this principle is well illustrated by means of the following experiment.

Take a narrow slip of paper about an inch wide, hold it very tight round a common poker, so that no air can be admitted between the paper and poker, and in that position you may apply the flame of a candle to the

" run down in drops, yet the flooring boards of that very room were not burnt " through, nor was one of the side timbers, floor joists, or cieling joists, damaged " in the smallest degree, and the persons who went into the room, immediately over " the room filled with fire, did not perceive any ill effects from it whatever, even " the floor of that room being perfectly cool during the enormous conflagration im- " mediately underneath.

" I then caused a kind of wooden building of full fifty feet in length, and of three " stories high in the middle, to be erected close to one end of the secured wooden " house. I filled and covered this building with above eleven hundred large kiln " faggots, and several loads of dry shavings: and I set this pile on fire. The height " of the flame was no less than eighty-seven feet perpendicular from the ground, and " the grass upon the bank, at a hundred and fifty feet from the fire, was scorched " up; yet the secured wooden building, contiguous to this vast heap of fire, was " not damaged in the least, excepting some parts of the outer coat of plaster-work. " This experiment was intended to represent a wooden town on fire, and to show " how effectually even a wooden building, if secured according to my new method, " would stop the progress of the flames on that side, without any assistance from fire " engines, &c.

" The last experiment I made that day, was the attempting to burn a wooden " stair-case, secured according to my simple method of *under-flooring*. Several very " large kiln faggots were laid and kindled under the stair-case round the stairs, and " upon the steps; this wooden stair-case notwithstanding resisted, as if it had been " of fire-stone, all the attempts that were made to consume it. I have since made " five other still stronger fires upon this same stair-case, without having repaired it, " having, moreover, filled this small space in which this stair-case is, entirely with " shavings and large faggots; but the stair-case is, however, still standing, and is " but little damaged."

paper for any length of time, without the smallest danger of setting it on fire. If, during the experiment, the paper becomes loose so as to admit the air between it and the iron, it will be instantly inflamed.

The experiments made by his Lordship at Chevening, in Kent, of which there were more than two thousand witnesses, were conducted on a very extensive scale, and carried with them an irresistible evidence to every spectator. We know upon good authority, that in an upper room Lord Mahon, Mr. Pitt, Lord Chatham, the Lord Mayor of London, the President of the Royal Society, and many other persons, were enjoying the luxury of ice-creams, during the time while the most intense fire that could be made was raging in the room directly under it, and separated from it only by a common wooden floor secured upon his Lordship's plan.

About three years since his Lordship's method was put to the test, by a fire which broke out in the unsecured offices belonging to Chevening House. Perhaps no fire ever raged with greater fury, till it approached that part of the building which had been made fire-proof; and there its progress was stopped. A part of a beam which exhibits the effects of the securing composition, is preserved at Chevening, the other part was deposited in the archives of the Royal Society.

It will be proper in this place to mention some other inventions of his Lordship, which are considered by him as of considerable importance in the practical art of building.

His method of burning lime must be first noticed.—The operation is performed in a kiln of a structure not very dissimilar to that of a wind furnace. The heat obtained in this way is so great as, in some measure, to vitrify the lime. Lime thus burnt makes a mortar much more durable than that which is commonly used, and the hardness of which is so great, when completely dry,

as effectually to resist any pointed instrument. His Lordship believes that this mortar possesses all the properties of which the cement of the ancients is known to have consisted.

Another invention of which Lord Stanhope has now had the experience of twenty years, is a method of covering roofs with a composition made of tar, chalk, and fine well washed sand. By making use of this composition instead of slates or tiles, the roof of the house may be constructed almost flat, which renders the attic chambers in every respect as good as the rooms in the other parts of the house. Lord Stanhope has ascertained, that on this plan less timber is used in any given roof than what is necessary in the common mode of building.

His Lordship makes use of a composition of tar and pounded chalk for covering the wounds made in trees by the breaking of branches, &c. This is probably far superior to Mr. Forsyth's invention, for which he received a parliamentary reward.

In the year 1779, Lord Mahon published a thin quarto volume, entitled, "*Principles of Electricity*," &c.—This publication was occasioned by the dispute which at that time engaged the attention of the principal electricians of this country, respecting the best mode of securing buildings from the effects of lightning. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Nairne were the chief opponents in the discussion, the former giving an uniform preference to short conductors terminating in a ball; and the latter was a disciple of Dr. Franklin, and an advocate for long pointed conductors. The experiments on both sides of the question were made with a grand and expensive apparatus, and the result of the investigation was generally allowed to be in favour of the Franklinean theory.

Lord Mahon avowed himself on that side of the question which Mr. Nairne had espoused, and undertook to confirm and elucidate the theory by a number of experiments, many of which were new and original.* An account of these experiments his Lordship has amply detailed in the work before us. He has also proved by an elaborate mathematical demonstration, illustrated by a great variety of experiments, that the density of an electrical atmosphere superinduced upon any body, must be inversely as the squares of the distances from the charged body.

He has likewise taken great pains to prove the existence and explain the nature of what he denominates the *returning-stroke* in electricity, which is the effect produced by the return of the electric fire into a body from which, under certain circumstances, it has been previously expelled. His Lordship shews, that men and other animals may be destroyed, and buildings damaged, by an electrical returning-stroke occasioned by a thunder-cloud, even at the distance of two or three miles or more from the spot where such persons or buildings are situated. This new theory, advanced and published by

* "For the sake of those persons who care but little about the detail of the theory "of electricity, but who notwithstanding may be extremely interested in the know- "ledge of the best method of securing buildings against the damage of lightning, his "Lordship mentions the following necessary requisites in erecting conductors. 1. "The rods must be made of such substances as are, in their nature, the best conduc- "tors of electricity. 2. They must be uninterrupted and perfectly continuous. 3. "They must be of a sufficient thickness. 4. They must be connected with the com- "mon stock, that is, with the earth or nearest water. 5. The upper extremity of "the rods must be finely tapered and as acutely pointed as possible; *gold* wires are "the best points, as they will not rust. 6. The rods must be very prominent, several "feet above the chimneys. 7. Each rod must be carried in the *shortest* convenient "direction from its upper end to the common stock. 8. There should be no pro- "minent bodies of metal on the top of the building proposed to be secured, but such "as are connected with the conductor by some proper metallic communication. 9. "There should be a sufficient number of these rods substantially erected, that is, the "number should be in proportion to the extent of the building."

See Principles of Electricity, p. 205.

Lord Mahon, in the year 1779, he considered as completely established by the death of James Lauder, and two horses, that were instantaneously killed in Scotland by the effects of a thunder-storm, which was evidently at a considerable distance from the spot where the fatal accident happened. A very interesting account of this melancholy fact was drawn up by Patrick Brydone, Esq. and published in the 77th vol. of the Philosophical Transactions.

A short time after the reading of Mr. Brydone's account, his Lordship presented to the Royal Society a paper entitled, "*Remarks on Mr. Brydone's Account of a "remarkable Thunder-storm in Scotland.*" In this paper he endeavours to account for the various phenomena observed during the storm: he shews that Lauder's death could not be occasioned by any *direct* explosion, nor by that effect which electricians denominate a *lateral* explosion: and, after a full examination of the case, he concludes, that the accident must be attributed solely to the effect which he had in his original work denominated the electrical returning-stroke.*

About this period we find Lord Mahon taking a very active part with those gentlemen who were pursuing

* "Wonderful," says his Lordship, "as these combined facts may appear, and "uncommon as they certainly are in this country, they are, nevertheless, easy to be "explained by means of that particular species of electrical shock, which I have distinguished in my Principles of Electricity, (published in 1779) by the appellation "of the *electrical returning-stroke*: and, although at the time I wrote that treatise, I "had it not in my power to produce any instance of persons or animals having been "killed in the very peculiar manner since related in Mr. Brydone's paper, I did, "however, (from my experiments mentioned in that book) venture to assert, with "confidence, that if persons be strongly superinduced by the electrical atmosphere of "a cloud, they may (under circumstances similar to those explained in that treatise) "receive a strong shock, be knocked down, or even killed at the instant that the "cloud discharges with an explosion, its electricity; whether the lightning falls near "the very place where those persons are, or at a very considerable distance from that "place, or whether the cloud be positively or negatively electrified." *See Phil. "Trans.* vol. 77.

measures in order to obtain a Reform in the Representation of the Commons House of Parliament. He was chosen one of the Deputies for the county of Kent, and Chairman of the Kentish Committee, and was on this subject in the habit of constant correspondence with the Rev. Mr. Wyvill, one of the Deputies for Yorkshire, and the great promoter of an object which, if it had been successful, might have been of the greatest consequence to these kingdoms.*At a county meeting held at Maid-

* The following letter will exhibit the temper and spirit with which his Lordship pursued this grand national object of reform:

Letter from Viscount Mahon to the Rev. C. Wyvill.

Harley-street, Oct. 23, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR,

I send you herewith the unanimous resolutions of our Kentish Committee, which I trust will meet with your approbation, and with that of your respectable Committee of the county of York, to whom I beg you will have the goodness to present these resolves.

Our Committee wish to prevent, as much as possible, *unnecessary procrastination;* and are, at the same time, truly anxious to shew, in the most decided and public manner, their high respect for the great and meritorious county of York, and their strong desire of *co-operating* with the valuable Sir George Saville, one of their Representatives in Parliament, in the promoting of the important and necessary object of equalizing and purifying the Representation, by adding to the House of Commons at least one hundred county members.

I have the honour to be, &c.

MAHON, *Chairman.*

P. S. We shall certainly be very strong in this new Parliament.

For God's sake, my dear Sir, let us be well aware of *even seeming* to concede any farther, either in respect of matter, manner, or time. We shall lose *all* by *procrastination;* for, to use the late Earl of Chatham's expression on this subject, *We have taken possession of strong ground, let who will decline to follow us.* Nothing but firmness can procure us the united support of Opposition. *See Wyvill's Political Papers*, vol. i. p. 275.

stone, his Lordship moved, "That it be strongly re-
"commended to all noblemen, gentlemen, yeomen,
"freeholders, and householders in the county of Kent,
"to provide themselves with a good musket and bayo-
"net for the purpose of strengthening the civil power,
"and to act, according to law, in maintaining the peace
"of the said county, so that good order may, without
"the aid or interposition of any military force, be effec-
"tually preserved within the same." The necessity of such a regulation having been lately manifested in the alarming riots which had happened in the metropolis but a month preceding this meeting, the motion was carried by a considerable majority.

Soon after this Lord Mahon was, by the influence of the Earl of Shelburne, elected Member of Parliament for the borough of Wycombe. He joined the Opposition in their efforts to put an end to the American war, and though at the time when his Lordship took his seat in Parliament, the phalanx in opposition was more respectable for talent than for numbers, yet the contest which had ever been held in abhorrence by the enlightened part of the country was now becoming daily more and more odious to the great body of the people. Lord Mahon, though a constant and assiduous attendant upon his duty, did not take a very active part as a speaker. He never failed to be present when the cause of American liberty and independence was to be discussed, and to give the support which attached to his vote, though perhaps he was too much awed with the powerful eloquence and splendid talents of the minority to think it necessary for him often to claim the attention of the House.

From the year 1783 till the period of his father's death in 1786, when he took his seat in the House of Peers, under the title of Earl Stanhope, he made a variety of unsuccessful attempts to prevent bribery, corruption, and unnecessary expences at elections for Members of Parliament, rightly judging that by putting it in the

power of independent country gentlemen of moderate estates to offer themselves as Representatives of the People, a gradual reform would introduce itself into Parliament, by measures that could not tend to alarm those who were carried away by the dread of innovation. In these attempts his Lordship was countenanced by the Minister, Mr. Pitt, with whom he generally acted, but not with that zeal which he expected from the avowed promoter of reform.

Early in the year 1786 we find Mr. Pitt, with whom Lord Stanhope was in habits of strict intimacy, professing great eagerness in erecting a pillar of perpetual remembrance to his own fame, by concerting effectual measures for annihilating the national debt. To the late excellent Dr. Price the Minister applied for assistance on a subject to which the Doctor had devoted many years of his valuable life.

Dr. Price communicated to Mr. Pitt three plans, of which we are informed by Mr. Morgan,* the latter, and by far the most inefficient, was finally adopted by the Minister, and received the sanction of Parliament. To this plan, Lord Stanhope gave a steady and avowed opposition, the motives for which, together with a plan of his own, he explained and enforced in a quarto pamphlet entitled. "*Observations on Mr. Pitt's Plan for the "Reduction of the National Debt.*"

In this work he exposed the weakness and inefficiency of the mode adopted by the Minister. He then discussed the plan suggested to the House of Commons by Mr. Fox, and afterwards laid before the public a scheme of his own, founded upon certain *axioms* assumed by his Lordship.

The main butt of Lord Stanhope's scheme was the conversion of the 3 per cent. stock into a stock that should

* See a review of Dr. Price's writings on the subject of the finances of this kingdom, &c. &c. By William Morgan, F. R. S. 1792.

bear 4 per cent. interest: or, in other words, that the holders of the 3 per cents. should, for every 400l. of that stock, receive in lieu thereof 300l. stock bearing 4 per cent.† To his Lordship's work are subjoined, by way of appendices several tables, founded upon calculations, upon the accuracy of which he was enabled to confide, having them all made under his own inspection, and *proving* the truth of each separate result by means of an arithmetical machine invented by himself.

Of Lord Stanhope's arithmetical machines it may be proper to say something in this place, though it is believed they were invented and made about the year 1777.

† Lord Stanhope concludes this work by shewing that the method adopted by the Minister will not answer any one definition of a *good* plan for the redemption of the national debt. "A plan," says his Lordship, "which neither pays off much debt in "time of peace, nor insures its being redeemed in time of war, is a plan to delude the "public. And the present Minister, who does not mean to delude the public, does "evidently delude himself. He thinks, no doubt, that his plan for redeeming the "national debt is to save the nation; and if it be well managed, it unquestionably may "save it. But if it be conducted in the way proposed by the bill now before the "House of Commons, we shall neither profit by the peace nor be prepared for war. "We may let slip the present favourable opportunity of restoring our finances, and "such an opportunity may perhaps never present itself again. Mr. Pitt's plan, for "the reasons I have assigned above, may be the means of involving us in wars in "which we might otherwise never be engaged. And those new wars may accu-"mulate such a load of new debt upon the nation, that, even when another peace "shall come, the people may not be able to bear the enormous weight of additional "taxes which it would then be necessary to lay, in order to provide another sinking "fund. Mr. Pitt's project, therefore, may bring ruin upon this country. But I "sincerely hope and trust, that it will be altered by Parliament. Nay, I am even "sanguine enough to hope, that the Minister himself will re-consider his first opini-"on, and that he will, with a candour that would do him everlasting honour, adopt "either the specific plan which I have proposed, or some other plan which shall be "founded on those leading principles which I have laid down above, and without "which it will evidently be impossible for him to accomplish the great and desirable "object so clearly pointed out in the preamble of his own bill."

The first and smallest machine is about the size of an octavo volume, which, by means of dial plates and small indices, moveable with a steel pin, is calculated to perform with undeviating accuracy the operations of simple and compound addition and subtraction. The second, and by far the most curious machine, is not more than half the size of a common table writing desk. By this problems in multiplication and division, of almost any extent, are solved, without the possibility of a mistake by the simple revolution of a small winch. What appears very singular and surprising to every spectator of this machine, is, that in working division, if the operator be inattentive to his business, and thereby attempts to turn the handle a single revolution more than he ought, he is instantly admonished of his error by the sudden springing up of a small ivory ball.*

During the illness of his Majesty, at the latter end of the year 1788, when the subject of a regency was discussed, Lord Stanhope gave a very decided support to the measures of Administration. He contended, that the two Houses of Parliament had a right and power in case of a vacancy of the throne, or the interruption of the personal exercise of the Royal authority, to make provision to supply the deficiency. His Lordship supported his reasoning by a reference to the conditions on

* Since the above description of Lord Stanhope's arithmetical machines was written, an old but very curious little book has fallen into the hands of the writer of this article. It is entitled, "The Description and Use of two Arithmetic Instruments: "together with a short Treatise explaining and demonstrating the ordinary operati- "ons of Arithmetic, &c. &c. Presented to his most excellent Majesty, Charles II. "By S Morland, 1662." This work is illustrated with twelve plates, in which the different parts of the machines are exhibited, and whence it appears that the four fundamental rules in arithmetic are easily worked, and, to use the author's own words, "without charging the memory, disturbing the mind, or exposing the operations to "any uncertainty."

From an advertisement affixed to Mr. Morland's work it appears that these instruments were, at that period, manufactured for sale by Humphrey Adamson, who resided with Jonas Moor, Esq. in the Tower of London.

which the Prince of Orange and the Princess Mary had accepted the crown; and likewise to the method by which the Hanover family ascended the throne of these realms.

Amidst the discussions which took place on this occasion, and which were carried on with the greatest violence and acrimony, while one party was eager in maintaining the rights of the Prince of Wales, and the other was equally zealous in ascribing unlimited powers to the two Houses, Lord Stanhope did not forget that all just and legitimate authority could be derived only from the people.

After a speech from the Duke of York, which contained some admirable and truly patriotic sentiments, perfectly congenial with the constitution of the country, Lord Stanhope made an effort to have those sentiments recorded, observing, "that the communication was too "important to be suffered to remain in fleeting words, "which could not be handed down to posterity to grasp "and quote as a proof of the existence of an essential "part of the constitution."*

On the 17th of February, 1789, a bill was brought into the House of Lords, entituled, "An act to provide

* The following is an extract from his Royal Highness' speech as reported in the Parliamentary Debates. "He entirely agreed with the noble Lords who had expressed "their wishes to avoid any question which tended to induce a discussion on the rights "of the Prince of Wales. The fact was plain, that no such claim of right had been "made on the part of the Prince; and he was too confident that his Royal Highness "understood too well the sacred principles which seated the house of Brunswick on "the throne of Great Britain, ever to assume or exercise any power, be his claim "what it might, not derived from the will of the people, expressed by their Repre-"sentatives and by their Lordships in Parliament assembled. Such, he said, were the "sentiments of an honest heart equally influenced by duty and affection to his Royal "Father, and by attachment to the constitutional rights of his subjects; and he was "confident, that if his Royal Brother were to address them, in his place, as a Peer of "the Realm, these were the sentiments which he would distinctly avow." *See De-"brett's Parliamentary Register*, vol. 26. p. 28.

" for the care of his Majesty's royal person, and for the " administration of the royal authority during the con- " tinuance of his Majesty's illness." In this bill was a clause restraining the Regent from giving his assent to any bill or bills for repealing the act of uniformity. Lord Stanhope, on this occasion, in a speech of considerable length, manifested his attention to, and knowledge of, all the various statutes which still exist in full force against persons who dissent from the established religion of the country. He commented with great severity, intermixed with some ridicule and pleasantry, upon the cruelty, absurdity, and contrariety, of these laws, shewing, at the same time, that they had been passed in the days of darkness and ignorance, by persons who had as little regard for religion as humanity. Some of them, he undertook to prove, contained rank blasphemy ; and, after quoting the authorities of the late Earls of Chatham and Mansfield, who, though known to have acted on very different principles in most questions of a public important nature, cordially agreed on the subject of religious toleration, he moved an amendment to prevent any new difficulty being placed, by the regency bill, in the way of the repeal of the test act. This amendment was opposed by the Bishops and lost.

We find Lord Stanhope again on the 18th of May attempting to obtain a repeal of certain severe and cruel laws,* which still remain on our statute books to the

* As an introduction to this motion, his Lordship begged leave to mention about one-tenth part of the absurd ecclesiastical laws of this country, being convinced that more than this would not be necessary to induce the House to adopt the bill which he designed to propose. A few of these we will insert in this place.

Under the head of *laws about going to church*, we find one by which it is enacted, that every person is to go to church every Sunday and holiday, or to forfeit one shilling. Another makes it a penalty of 20*l.* or the forfeiture of two-thirds of the offender's property, *at the prosecutor's option*, for any person who absents himself from church for a month. A third law enacts, that every person who refuses to go to church, shall be committed to prison till he will go. And every person shall pay 10*l.* per

disgrace of the country; and which, at any future day, might be resorted to as instruments of oppression and ruin to multitudes of the most valuable members of the community. He avowed that the principle by which he was actuated was, that no man had any right to oppress another; that liberty of conscience, freedom of investigation in matters of religion, and the right of private judgment, were the indefeasible and unalineable rights of mankind; and that it was wholly upon that sacred right of private judgment, that the Protestant religion itself was founded. The bill introduced by his Lordship into the House of Peers, enacted, "That all persons, (Papists excepted)* shall have free liberty to "exercise their religion; and by speaking, writing, "printing, publishing, preaching, and teaching to instruct persons in the duties of religion, in such manner as every such person respectively shall judge the "most conducive to promote virtue, the happiness of "society, and the eternal felicity of mankind." This

month for every servant, for every visitor, and also for every servant of every visitor, in his or her house, who does not go to church.

Among the *laws about rites*, &c. it is enacted, that in cases of heresy or incontinency, or refusing to have a child baptized, or refusing to receive the communion as received in the established church, or for refusing to come to divine service, persons found guilty in any of these respects, shall be excommunicated, that is, shall be disqualified to be a witness in any cause; to act as an executor; to buy or to sell; to bring an action for the recovery of a debt; or even to have christian burial. His Lordship proceeds to mention several other curious laws still in existence, of which we will enumerate only three. The *first* makes it imprisonment and forfeiture of all goods and chattels to *export* women without a licence from the King. The *second* fixes a penalty of 10*l.* upon a man, who is found guilty; either 1, Of cutting out a beast's tongue; or 2, Of burning a cart; or 3, Of barking an apple-tree; or 4, Of cutting off the ears of any of His Majesty's subjects; and a *third* law makes it highly penal to conjure up spirits from the dead, or to feed them, when raised, either with animal or vegetable food.—*See Parliamentary Register. Debrett.*

* His Lordship made a distinction between Papists and Catholic Dissenters. This distinction is well illustrated in an excellent work lately published, entitled, "A "modest Apology for the Roman Catholics of Great Britain," &c. &c.

bill, after a debate in which several of the Bishops took a share, was thrown out.

It was during this discussion that Lord Stanhope, in reply to some observations made by Viscount Stormont, declared his resolution of persevering in the cause in which he had engaged, and "that if the right reverend "Bench of Bishops would not suffer him to load away "their rubbish by cart-fulls, he would endeavour to "carry it away in wheel-barrows, and if that mode of "removal were resisted, he would take it away, if pos-"sible, with a spade a little at a time."

Lord Stanhope, but little discouraged by the fate of his bill, immediately gave notice of another which he meant to introduce for the purpose of repealing an act of the 27th of Henry the Eighth, and thereby to prevent vexatious suits relative to prosecutions for tythes from Quakers. When his Lordship moved for the commitment of this bill, he instanced several cases of very considerable hardship which had but just occurred, and which were likely to ruin the persons so affected.* Although the facts adduced by his Lordship remained uncontradicted and undefended by any noble Peer, yet the bill was rejected.

We are now arrived at the period when the French Bastile was captured by the citizens of Paris, and the foundation of that revolution laid, which, for the last eleven years, has been the astonishment of all mankind. Never did the world witness an event so momentous as

* At Coventry, *six* Quakers had been prosecuted for refusing to pay Easter offerings, which in the whole amounted to but two shillings. For this sum they had been brought into the Spiritual Court, the expences of which amounted to 165*l.* 11*s.* besides their own proctor's bill, which was 128*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* Thus, instead of two shillings they had nearly 300*l.* to pay in consequence of religious scruples.

At Worcester a man of some property had been imprisoned in the common jail for refusing to pay his tythes, which amounted to only five shillings.

this; its consequences still set calculation at defiance. The prospects which it offered interested every bosom; while some contemplated its probable effects with abhorrence and terror; others, among whom was certainly Earl Stanhope, considered it as the most glorious event that the page of history ever recorded; an event pregnant with good consequences to future ages.

Such was his Lordship's opinion at the commencement of the Revolution; and from this, we believe, he has never once deviated. In the year 1788, Lord Stanhope had met, in conjunction with a number of gentlemen of great respectability, to celebrate the centenary of the Revolution in England. These gentlemen formed themselves into a society for the "purpose of causing "the principles of the Revolution to be well under-"stood, extensively propagated, and firmly maintained, "and to preserve the glorious fabric of the British "Constitution, and to transmit the invaluable blessings "of public freedom to posterity unimpaired and im-"proved." This society was denominated the "Revolution Society;" a Committee of which was appointed, who might keep up a correspondence with other societies meeting in different parts of the kingdom for the same general purposes.

At the annual meeting of the Revolution Society on November the 4th, 1789, Lord Stanhope was called to the chair. The destruction of the Bastile, which had happened in the July previously to this meeting, was an event which very naturally excited the attention of persons assembled on such an occasion, and for the avowed purpose of celebrating the destruction of tyranny in England. Accordingly Dr. Price, who in the fore-part of the day had preached his celebrated and truly eloquent discourse on the love of one's country, moved a congratulatory address to the National Assembly of France.*

* The address was as follows:

"The Society for commemorating the REVOLUTION IN GREAT BRITAIN, disdaining national partialities, and rejoicing in every triumph of liberty and justice

This motion was carried unanimously, and the chairman was requested to transmit it to Paris.

The Archbishop of Aix, President of the National Assembly, returned a very respectful answer to the address, accompanied with a friendly and patriotic letter to the noble Earl. After this, many other addresses were received by the Revolution Society of London, from a variety of patriotic assemblies held in different parts of France, to which Lord Stanhope, as Chairman of the Committee, was called upon to reply. His Lordship's answers were all animated with an ardent spirit of freedom, and with the sanguine hope that the Revolution in France would be the means of uniting the two countries by bonds of the strictest alliance. "May "Heaven," says he, in reply to M. l' Abbe Volfius, "bless the world with an union so desirable, and suffer "no partial interests or popular violences to prevent "the citizens of France from enjoying all the blessings that can be derived from a wise, and equitable, "and free constitution of government."

Upon the meeting of the British Parliament in February, 1790, Mr. Burke attacked the French Revolution in terms of the most unqualified abuse. He held up the Revolution Society here as a combination of wicked persons, who had shewn a strong disposition to imitate the French spirit of reform. This speech was published by Mr. Burke in a separate pamphlet. To which Lord

over arbitrary power, offer to the National Assembly of France their congratulations on the revolution in that country, and on the prospect it gives to the two first kingdoms in the world, of a common participation in the blessings of civil and religious liberty.

"They cannot help adding their ardent wishes of a happy settlement of so important a revolution, and at the same time expressing the particular satisfaction with which they reflect on the tendency of the glorious example given in France to encourage other nations to assert the *unalienable* rights of mankind, and thereby to introduce a general reformation in the governments of Europe, and to make the world free and happy."

Stanhope replied in a very spirited letter to the right honourable gentleman.* In this letter his Lordship avows his approbation of the French Revolution; defends the proceedings of the Society in London; calls on the public to judge for themselves, whether the address sent by them to the National Assembly, and signed by him as chairman, be not an act deserving praise rather than blame.

About this period Lord Stanhope engaged in a great variety of experiments on the subject of navigating ships and other vessels by means of an apparatus to be moved by steam. In the course of these experiments, which engaged his Lordship's attention almost incessantly for six or seven years, he took out two or three patents; he built at Rotherhithe, three or four vessels of different sizes, and expended considerable sums of money in the attempt, which does not at present appear to have been attended with advantage to himself, or with that practical utility in the science of navigation which he and his friends anticipated.

In the year 1792, Mr. Fox introduced into the House of Commons his famous *Libel Bill*, which, when it was brought into the Upper House of Parliament, Lord Stanhope defended in all its stages. The importance of the doctrines contained in this bill, and the opposition it met with from some quarters, induced his Lordship to publish a small octavo volume on the subject, entitled, *The Rights of Juries defended, together with Authorities of Law in Support of those Rights, and the Objections to Mr. Fox's Libel Bill refuted.*

This work may, perhaps, be considered as a careful report of the speeches made by his Lordship in Parliament. His reasoning is, in general, clear and convincing; his arguments drawn from legal authority appear

* See "A letter from Earl Stanhope to the Right Honourable Edmund Burke: "containing a short answer to his late Speech on the French Revolution."

indisputable; and his zeal for the liberty of the subject is every where evident. The concluding paragraph of the work will exhibit very properly the temper and spirit of the whole. Speaking of the trial by Jury, his Lordship says:

"One citadel, however, has withstood the siege; "one important fort has alone successfully resisted the "attacks that have been made upon it. It has resisted "for ages; it has neither been destroyed by sap nor "taken by storm. If, therefore, we are still a *free* "nation; if this kingdom is the richest, and the most "prosperous country that at this moment exists in Eu- "rope, we owe it to that strong hold and *fortress of* "*the people*, to that impregnable GIBRALTAR of the "English Constitution, the TRIAL BY JURY. *This* "is that invaluable *Bulwark of Liberty*, which Parli- "ament has lately protected, and will, I trust, ever con- "tinue to protect: at least I shall consider it as one of "my most essential duties to defend it steadily to the "last hour of my life."

At the close of this year Parliament was suddenly assembled, the Tower of London fortified, and other measures taken, which indicated on the part of Ministers some fear of impending dangers; but which, to persons acquainted with ministerial manœuvres, were, at that time, considered as a prelude to a war against the French Republic. Accordingly, in January 1793, every preparation was made for the commencement of hostilities, and the French Ambassador was ordered to leave the kingdom within a given period. To these measures Lord Stanhope made a most steady and decided opposition. In the House of Peers he undertook to prove that, both by the spirit and letter of the commercial treaty, the act of aggression was committed on the part of this country; it having been stipulated by that famous treaty, that the sending away a minister should be considered as tantamount to a declaration of war.

With respect to this war, which has now continued with unabating fury for eight years nearly, it would ill become us to offer any remarks; otherwise than as they are connected with the opposition which Lord Stanhope has uniformly given to it. Nor is it our intention to notice all his Lordship's exertions on this subject: it will be sufficient if we refer to a few motions made by him in the House of Peers. On the 23d of January, 1794, Lord Stanhope, at the conclusion of an able speech, moved, "That an humble address be presented "to His Majesty, humbly to represent to his Majesty, "that the French Nation has expressly recognized this "sacred principle, 'That no country possesses the right "to interfere with another independent nation;' to state "to his Majesty, that in the 118th and 119th articles "of the Constitution, they have declared, that the "French people is the friend and natural ally of every "free people, and that it does not interfere in the Go-"vernment of other nations: humbly, therefore, to "beseech His Majesty, in his equity and justice, to "ACKNOWLEDGE THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, and thereby "lay the foundation of a speedy reconciliation, and a "permanent peace."

His Lordship's motion was rejected, and from the circumstance of standing alone in the division, on this and some other subsequent occasions, he obtained generally the title of the *minority of one*. In the course of the debate, Lord Stanhope investigated at large the nature and extent of the resources of France, both as they respected men, money, and warlike stores. He deprecated the mode restored to by the allied powers of carrying on the war. He ridiculed the idea, suggested by some members of Administration, of endeavouring to starve the people of France. He shewed that it was become the interest of the great body of the people in that country, that the Revolution should be permanent, and being their interest, that all the powers of Europe could not overthrow it: he defended the French Nation from the charge of atheism, which had been exhibited

against it, and declared, that from his own knowledge the only atheists in France were to be found among the aristocrats, and the men of literature, among whom the foremost were some of the clergy.

On the 31st day of the same month, Lord Stanhope moved in the House of Lords, "that an humble address "be presented to His Majesty, that this House has "been informed that Thomas Muir, Esq. who was "tried before the High Court of Justiciary, at Edin-"burgh, in the month of August last, upon a charge of "sedition, has been condemned, and sentenced to be "transported beyond seas for the space of fourteen "years: and further to represent to His Majesty, that "the House intends to proceed without delay, to exa-"mine the circumstances of such condemnation, and "of such sentence; and therefore humbly to beseech "His Majesty, that the said Thomas Muir, Esq. may "not be transported beyond seas, until this House shall "have had sufficient time to make such examination."

Had this motion been carried, it was his Lordship's intention to have moved the same kind of address in behalf of the other persons, viz. Thomas Fishe Palmer, &c. who had been condemned to suffer similar punishments. But the House refusing to agree to the address, Lord Stanhope immediately entered on the Journals a very spirited and argumentative protest,* in which he

* Dissentient. 1st. Because the attending to the due administration of justice, and the watching over the conduct of the various Courts in this kingdom, is one of the most important branches of the business of this House, and is at all times also one of its most essential duties.

2dly, Because it obviously appears to be proper to examine into the justice and legality of a sentence, before it is executed, and not to permit it to be executed first, and then to examine into its justice and legality afterwards.

3dly, Because for want of such timely interference on the part of this House, it has formerly happened, that, within a short time, no less than four unjust and illegal judgments were actually carried into execution, as appears from the respective attainders

shewed that the proceedings against Mr. Muir were directly hostile to decisions of the House of Lords in the case of Warren Hastings, Esq.

of the innocent sufferers having been afterwards reversed and made void (when it was too late) by four acts of Parliament, made and passed in the first year of the reign of their late Majesties King William and Queen Mary, namely, in the cases of Alderman Cornish, Alice Lisle, Algernon Sidney, and Lord Russel.

4thly, Because it is contrary to the first and immutable principles of natural justice, that any thing to the prejudice of a defendant should be brought before a Jury in a criminal prosecution, " that is, only collateral, " not in issue, nor necessary in the conclusion."

5thly, Because it is not (nor ought to be) competent for a prosecutor to produce any evidence to support any matter that is not charged in the indictment; that is to say, distinctly and precisely charged, and not by mere epithet or general words such as oppression, sedition, vexation, or the like.

6thly, Because in like manner it is not (nor ought to be) competent for a prosecutor to produce any evidence to prove any crime to have been committed by a defendant, in any other particular than that wherein it is in the indictment expressly charged to haveb een committed.

7thly, Because no such proceedings as those above stated, nor any of them, can be justified under pretence, that " *if it had been necessary to specify in the indictment all the* " *facts against the defendant, the indictment would have covered, by its magnitude, the walls of* " *the Court.*"* And,

8thly, Because in one year of the trial of Warren Hastings, Esquire, namely, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety, there were no less than four decisions of the House of Lords upon this subject, viz. on the twenty fifth day of February, when the Lords resolved,

" That the Managers for the Commons be not admitted to give evidence of the " unfitness of Kelleram for the appointment of being a renter of certain lands in the " province of Bahar; the fact of such unfitness of the said Kelleram not being charg- " ed in the impeachment."

And again on the 4th day of May, when the House of Lords decided,

" That it is not competent to the Managers for the Commons to put the following

* See the Lord's Advocate's speech on Mr. Muir's trial.

As one of the Judges in Mr. Hastings' cause, no man attended his duty more regularly and conscientiously, for several years, that Earl Stanhope. He considered an impeachment of a servant of the public, by the Commons of England, as an object of great national importance. And though he highly disapproved in many instances, the conduct of the managers of that trial, particularly the rancour and malignity manifested by Mr. Burke; and the protraction of the trial to the length of so many years; yet from the time of the commencement of the trial till the month of May 1794, his Lord-

" question to the witness upon the seventh article of charge, viz.—Whether more op-
" pressions did actually exist under the new institution than under the old?"

And again on the 18th of May, when the House of Lords resolved,

" That it is not competent to the Managers for the Commons to give evidence of
" the enormities actually committed by Deby Sing: the same not being charged in
" the impeachment."

And again on the second day of June, when the Lords resolved,

" That it is not competent for the Managers, on the part of the Commons, to give
" any evidence upon the seventh article of the impeachment, to prove that the letter
" of the 5th of May, 1781, is false, in any particular than that wherein it is expressly
" charged to be false."

The said decisions of the House of Lords are founded upon principles not peculiar to trials by impeachment. They are founded upon common sense, and on the immutable principles of justice. In Scotland those principles are peculiarly necessary to be adhered to, inasmuch as by the laws of that part of the united kingdom, a defendant is obliged to produce a complete list of all his witnesses in exculpation, the day before the trial. That alone appears to me a considerable hardship. But if, after such list is actually delivered in by the defendant, any facts (or supposed facts) not particularly set forth as crimes in the indictment, may, on the following day, for the first time, and without notice, be suddenly brought out in evidence upon the trial against the defendant, such defendant, from such an entrapping mode of trial, may be convicted, although innocent. Such proceedings (whether supported or unsupported by any old Scotch statute passed in arbitrary times) ought, I conceive to be revised. *For, in a free country, there ought not to be one mode of administering justice to one man, namely, to Mr. Hastings; and an opposite mode of administering justice to another man, namely, to Mr. Muir.*

STANHOPE.

See *Parliamentary Register.*

ship never was absent a single quarter of an hour. He was not more regular in his attendance than anxious to understand the whole merits of the cause, in order that justice might be done to the prisoner at the bar, as well as to the public. He was assiduous in taking notes in every part of the evidence; in cross-examining witnesses; and he frequently silenced Mr. Burke, when he conceived him either arguing points which were irrelevant to the matter charged in the impeachment; or when he was examining witnesses to points unconnected with the subject; circumstances into which the honourable manager's indignation frequently led him.*

Notwithstanding Lord Stanhope's punctuality and incessant attention to this trial for the space of seven years; yet, when Ministers, under the pretence of the discovery of a secret plot, which has been proved never to have existed but in their own minds, overturned the most valuable part of the British Constitution, by the suspension of that bulwark of British liberty, the Habeas Corpus Act, he declined any farther attendance as one of Mr. Hastings' judges; conceiving that, in a country where there is no security for personal freedom, courts of justice lose all their native dignity and become the shadows and forms only of what they represent.

Lord Stanhope, on the 4th of April, moved, in the House of Peers, a resolution which, if carried, would have effectually prevented his Majesty's Ministers from interfering with the *internal government* of France. His Lordship introduced this motion by a speech of considerable length: he fortified his reasoning by references to a sermon lately preached before that House by the Bishop of Norwich, and by quotations from Blackstone's Commentaries, and Lord Liverpool's publication. "*On*

* "Mr. Burke was no less than four successive days in making his preliminary "speech, which was filled with vehement invective, with much rhetorical exaggera- "tion, and with matter wholly extraneous to the subject of the impeachment."

See Belsham's History of George III. vol. ii. p. 194.

the Establishment of a "National and Constitutional "Force." At the conclusion of his speech he quoted part of a poem on death.* ascribed to Dr. Porteus, Bishop of London, at the same time declaring, that what the Rev. Prelate had applied to Kings in general, he should consider as characteristic of arbitrary Monarchs only. His Lordship, when he had finished his speech, asked the Bishop if he acknowledged the admirable lines just quoted, to which the Prelate is said to have replied, "*they were not made for the present war.*"

Lord Stanhope's zeal in endeavouring to obtain a reform of Parliament, and his having acted in the capacity of delegate for the county of Kent, were the occasion of his being called as an evidence in the trial of Mr. J. H. Tooke on the charge of high treason. He underwent a long examination, in a very clear and distinct manner. By calling his Lordship, the Duke of Richmond, Major Cartwright, Mr. Pitt, and many other persons of high rank, Mr. Tooke evidently meant to shew that the "*treasonable practices*" committed by him and the other persons included in the same indictments in 1794,

* "One murder makes a villain,
"Millions a hero; Princes are privileg'd
"To kill, and numbers sanctify the crime.
"Ah, why will Kings forget that they are men?
"And men that they are brethren? Why delight
"In human sacrifice? Why burst the ties
"Of Nature, that should knit their souls together
"In one soft bond of amity and love?
"They yet still breathe destruction, still go on,
"Inhumanly ingenious, to find out
"New pains for life—new terrors for the grave!
"Artificers of death! Still Monarchs dream
"Of universal empire growing up
"From universal ruin. Blast the design,
"GREAT GOD OF HOSTS! Nor let thy creatures fall
"Unpitied victims at Ambition's shrine!"

Poem on Death.

had, but ten or twelve years before, been engaged in by his very accusers; and had been the means of elevating them to the high stations which they now enjoyed. The candid reader of that great man's trial will, we are satisfied, admit that he established his point to the disgrace and confusion of those high legal talents exerted against him.

In February, 1795, one of the largest meetings ever known in London, was held to celebrate the honourable acquitals of the persons lately arraigned for high treason. At this meeting Earl Stanhope was called to the chair, from which he delivered a speech of considerable length with great spirit and animation. This speech he afterwards published, together with an appendix on the same subject, which obtained a very extensive circulation.

Lord Stanhope had, previously to this meeting, taken a formal leave of the House of Peers. He had, on the 6th of January, made the following motion, which was not only rejected, but in which he found himself entirely unsupported; his Lordship therefore concluded, that in the present temper of the House, any efforts that he could make would be ineffectual to stop the ravages of a war which he had deprecated from the first, and to which he had uniformly given a fruitless opposition. His Lordship's resolution was this:

"*Resolved, That this country ought not, and will not* "*interfere in the internal affairs of France; and that* "*it is expedient explicitly to declare the same.*"

Although Lord Stanhope had frequently stood alone in the divisions in the House of Peers, yet, considering the simplicity and moderation of this motion, it is scarcely to be accounted for that he was not joined on the present occasion by the minority. Whether his Lordship had determined, previously to the fate of his motion, to

secede from his duty as a senator, or whether he was influenced to take this measure in consequence of the reception he met with from all sides of the House, we cannot ascertain: but there is before the public a very serious and manly protest,* in which he has assigned distinctly

* PROTEST.

Jan. 9, 1795.

Dissentient. 1st, Because the motion made for the House to adjourn was professedly intended to get rid of the following Resolution, viz. "Resolved, that this coun- "try ought not, and will not interfere in the internal affairs of France; and that it "is expedient explicitly to declare the same."

2dly, Because I hold that it is contrary to equity and justice for any foreign country to interfere in the internal affairs or constitution of the French Republic, or of any other independent nation.

3dly, Because the Government of Great Britain, (not having been elected by the Citizens of France) can have no more right to give to France a monarchical, aristocratical, or other form of government whatever, than the crowned despots of Prussia and Russia had to overturn the constitution of (now unhappy) Poland.

4thly, Because I highly disapprove and reprobate the doctrine advanced by Ministers in the debate, namely, "That to restore the ancient and hereditary Monarchy of "France no expence should be spared."—And I reprobate that pernicious and uncivic doctrine the more strongly from its not having been suddenly, hastily, or inconsiderately started, but from its having been taken up (as it was solemnly declared) upon the utmost deliberation.

5thly, Because I deem it to be an injustice committed by Ministers towards my fellow-citizens to adopt a principle which shall render it necessary for the Government of Great Britain to lay further heavy burthens upon the people; and to tax their houses, their windows, their beer, their candles, their shoes, and many other conveniencies and necessaries of life, in order to provide a fund to attempt the accomplishment of such wicked purpose as aforesaid.

6thly, Because the proposed Resolution above stated was intended by me as a "*solemn pledge*" that the Government of this nation would not interfere in the internal affairs of France; but the refusal of the House to give such a pledge tends to shut the door to peace, and consequently tends to ensure the ruin of this manufacturing, commercial, and once happy country; particularly considering the increased and rapidly increasing strength of the navy of the French Republic, independently of

the motives for his past and future conduct, and which he entered upon the journals of the House on the following Friday.

the prospect there is of their having the navies of Holland and Spain under their immediate influence.

7thly, Because the public funds, the paper currency, and the public and private credit of this country will probably be unequal to stand against the tremendous shock to which the Ministers will now expose them.

8thly, Because I think that frankness, fairness, humanity, and the principles of honesty and of justice, are always in the end the best policy. And I believe it to be true in regard to nations (as well as with respect to individuals) that " nothing that " is not just can be wise, or likely to be ultimately prosperous."

9thly, Because I lament the more that the House should refuse to disclaim the interfering in the internal Constitution of France, inasmuch as by the new Constitution of the French Republic, one and indivisible, adopted by the present National Convention, on the 23d day of June, 1793, and under the title " Of the relation of the " French Republic with foreign nations," and by the articles 118 and 119 of that Constitution it is declared and enacted,

" That the French people is the friend and natural ally of every free nation. It " does not interfere with the government of other nations: it does not suffer that " other nations should interfere with its own."

So frank, so fair, and so explicit a declaration on their part did, in my opinion entitle them to a better species of return.

10thly, Because I conceive that a true Republican form of Government being firmly established in France, is much more safe to the liberties of the people of Great Britain than the tyrannical, capricious, perfidious, secret, intriguing, and restless ancient Monarchy of France, or than any other Monarchy they could there establish: but even if I were of a direct opposite way of thinking, I would not be guilty of the gross injustice of attempting to force a Monarchy upon them, contrary to their inclination.

11thly, Because I think that no war ought to be continued that can by a proper line of moderation be avoided; and the more especially with respect to the French people, who, by their republican exertions, republican enthusiasm, and republican courage, have made victory the almost constant " order of the day."

In the Senate we hear little or nothing more of his Lordship till the month of February, in the present year 1800, when he again resumed his place in Parliament, and, after a long and animated speech, moved,

" That an humble address be presented to his Ma-
" jesty, representing the horrors of war: that in all
" countries a state of peace is ever the interest of the
" people, and the shedding of blood, without absolute

12thly, Because the continuance of such a bloody contest without necessity, appears to be a profane tempting of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, in whose benign and almighty hands the fate of battles and of empires is placed.

13thly, Because I wish to wash my hands entirely of the innocent *blood* that may be shed in this war with France, and of all the destruction, confusion, and devastation (perhaps in Great Britain itself) which may ensue.

14thly, Because it was my object to preclude the Government of Great Britain from attempting to stir up or excite insurrections in *La Vendee*, or any other department of the French Republic, and the Resolution I moved was well calculated for that purpose.

15thly, Because the maxim of " Do not to others that which you would not wish " done to yourself," is an unnerring rule founded upon the clear principles of justice, that is to say of *equality of rights*. It is upon this strong and solid ground that I make *my stand*. And all public men, in order to merit the confidence of the British people, must shew their determination to act with frankness and with unequivocal good faith and justice towards the French Republic.

Having, upon this important and momentous subject frequently stood alone, and having also been upon this last occasion totally unsupported in the division, if I should therefore cease at present to attend this House (where I have been placed by the mere *accident of birth*) such of my fellow-citizens as are friends to freedom, and who may chance to read this my solemn PROTEST, will find that I have not altered my sentiments or opinions: and that I have not changed any of my principles; for my principles NEVER CAN be changed. And those fellow-citizens will also find, that I hereby pledge myself to my country, that I shall continue what I ever have been, a zealous and unshaken friend to PEACE, to justice, and to liberty, political, civil, and religious; and that I am determined to die (as I have lived) a firm and steady supporter of the unalienable rights and of the happiness of all mankind.

STANHOPE.

See *Parliamentary Register*.

" necessity, repugnant to humanity; and further re-
" presenting, that the present war has been expensive
" beyond example, productive of a great increase of the
" national debt, of taxes to an enormous amount, and
" of an alarming increase in the price of all the neces
" saries of life: and further representing, that peace is
" necessary to avert the impending danger of famine;
" for although the present scarcity is in the first instance
" occasioned by a scanty harvest, the extent of the evil
" arises from the war; and that it is the duty of this
" House strongly to dissuade his Majesty from the con-
" tinuance of the war for the restoration of the ancient
" line of Princes of the House of Bourbon to the throne
" of France: and to intreat that a negotiation may be
" immediately opened for peace with the French Re-
" public."

This motion met with a fate similar to those we have already noticed: it was rejected by an immense majority. During his Lordship's secession from the House, we rarely find him engaged in any public political concerns. Twice he attended county meetings in Kent, and once in Buckinghamshire; and in the beginning of last year, 1799, he published an address to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, on the subject of an union, which was re-printed and circulated by the anti-union party of Dublin. In other respects he has, we believe, secluded himself from the political world, and been engaged either in mechanical pursuits, or in projects for improving his estates.

In expectation of increasing the value of a large landed property which his Lordship possesses in Devonshire, he projected, a few years ago, a canal of considerable extent, by means of which manure might be brought from the sea-shore into the inland parts of the county. With this view Lord Stanhope took the level of a vast tract of country, and laid out the whole plan himself. ——So sanguine was he of the success of his intended scheme, and of the immense advantages which would

result to his own estate, as well as to the whole of that part of Devonshire, that he spared no pains in obtaining all the information necessary to the undertaking; and so indefatigable was he in the business, that, for many weeks together, he walked almost every day between twenty and thirty miles, carrying, a great part of the time, his theodolite on his shoulder. Notwithstanding his Lordship's personal exertions in forwarding this scheme, it has never yet been executed, which has probably been owing the obstacles that the present war has thrown in the way of raising any considerable sums of money for the advancement of public works.

In the course of his survey, Lord Stanhope discovered that he had difficulties to surmount which, though common to almost all works of this kind, had, probably, never before engaged his Lordship's attention. In some parts of the country through which the canal was to run, he found the tract perfectly level for several miles together, and consequently in those parts the labour and expence necessary for the performance of the work would, in all probability, come within the calculated estimates; but in other districts there were hills of no inconsiderable height to ascend.

The common method of locks is, besides the expence, attended with a great loss of time in the passing or repassing of the boats or barges. His Lordship's mechanical genius was therefore exerted to contrive some other plan for raising and lowering the vessels.

We have reason to believe that he devised several methods, which he considered as superior, in every respect, to those which are commonly made use of in business of this kind. The difficulty was for him to fix his attention to that plan which should secure the maximum of advantages.

He at length determined upon a double inclined plane, a model of which he constructed on a large scale at his

residence in Kent, and called it the *free-way*. This plane is supposed to be fixed to a hill, to the bottom of which the lower branch of the canal flows; while the upper branch is supposed to commence from a certain distance from the summit of the hill on the other side.

Up this plane the boats are raised from the lower part of the canal to the higher, by means of the weight of other boats whose direction is from the higher to the lower. It will, perhaps, occur to every reader, that the returning vessels may sometimes be empty, or, at least, not laden with a tonnage sufficient to balance, much less to raise those which are to ascend from the lower to the higher level.

To obviate this objection, his Lordship did not intend to raise or lower the boats by themselves, but had contrived a kind of vessel which he called a boat-carrier, into which the boats, whether laden or empty, are made to float before they are either elevated or depressed. Now, as these boat-carriers are in their natural state always full of water, it is evident, upon hydrostatical principles, that, whatever be the weight of the vessel floated into them, still the weight of the boat-carrier, boat and burden will, at all times, be equal to the same weight, because just in proportion to the weight of the boat and burden immersed will be the quantity of water forced out of the boat-carrier; that is, a vessel of one ton weight will force out a ton weight of water, and another of three tons will dispel a quantity of water equal to that weight. Now by this contrivance the weight of an empty boat and apparatus will be equal to that of one ever so deeply laden, consequently a descending empty vessel will keep *in equilibrio* an ascending one that is laden, and the addition of a small force will raise the vessel. The boat-carriers run upon rollers, which theoretically remove all friction. And to save unnecessary expence, his Lordship had adopted the plan of small boats, of about four tons burden, for which a narrow canal would only be necessary; and by a neat contrivance he intend-

ed to link several of the boats together, by which means one horse would be able to draw a greater burden, and the canal might take a straight or winding direction as should best suit the level of the country, since the smallness of the vessels would not prevent their turning; and though twenty of them were linked together, yet, like the different links of a chain, they would not impede the progress of each other, however winding the direction of the course of the canal.

How far this plan, adopted by Lord Stanhope as the best, corresponds to that used in some parts of Holland, called the rolling-bridge upon dry land, and which, it is said, was the method employed by the ancients, and is still in some repute among the Chinese; or whether they bear any analogy to one another, is more than we can attempt to decide.

Of Lord Stanhope's arithmetical machines we have already spoken; the success which he obtained in the structure of these curious instruments has, we are informed, led him to believe that one of still greater utility and importance might be contrived, by means of which, instead of the four fundamental rules of arithmetic, he conceives the whole art of reasoning may be conducted. Of this machine, in its unfinished state, it would ill become us to say more, were it even in our power, than what his Lordship is accustomed to mention in every company. And we have often heard him assert, that with his reasoning-machine he shall be able, on all subjects, to draw true conclusions from any given premises;—that he shall be able not only to detect false reasoning however sophistically combined, but to shew the various links of the chain by which these false conclusions have been deduced;—and that with it he shall with great ease be able to ascend, by regular steps, from the first definitions of Euclid to the higher and most sublime speculations of our immortal Newton!

Thus have we given the leading traits of Lord Stanhope's character, both as a philosopher and a senator.

With this outline, sketched perhaps imperfectly, the Public will have no difficulty to fill up the picture. As a public speaker, his Lordship's eloquence is distinguished by energy, and his observations by vigour, and sometimes by originality. His appearance, action, and manner, add no graces to the sentiments which he delivers; they sometimes operate upon the hearers considerably to his disadvantage. With those auditors, however, who examine deeper than the surface of things, who are capable of distinguishing between the argument and the mode of stating it, Lord Stanhope will be considered as a man of science and of very strong understanding.

Lord Stanhope has been twice married: his first lady was the eldest daughter of the great Earl of Chatham, by whom he has three beautiful, highly accomplished, and very amiable daughters, the second of whom, Lady Griselda, is lately married to John Tekell, Esq. of Hambledon House, Hampshire; and the youngest, Lady Lucy, has been married some years to Thomas Taylor, Esq. Comptroller of the Customs. His Lordship's second wife is the only daughter and heiress of the late Mr. Grenville, who, for many years, was Governor of Barbadoes, and Ambassador at the Court of Constantinople for a considerable time. By this Lady, Lord Stanhope has three sons, endowed with excellent dispositions, and very superior understandings; the eldest, Lord Mahon, has nearly completed his nineteenth year, and, although he has hitherto been in a great measure secluded from the world, is by no means deficient in those graceful accomplishments which are expected of every person in his rank of life.

(1800-1.)

o o o

MR. CURRAN.

OF all the opinions which have obtained a general currency, without being either founded in truth or sanctioned by experience, there are none, perhaps, which have been so widely circulated as those by which we are taught to believe, that the study of law is adverse to the operation of genius, and that a lively imagination cannot be fettered to personal pursuits; that to be learned, a man must be dull, and that wit cannot be possessed but to the exclusion of industry.

Among the many examples which might be adduced from antiquity, or exhibited in modern times, to prove the futility of this dangerous conceit, Mr. Curran is not the least striking. No man has acquired higher reputation for those powers which delight and captivate the fancy, touch the springs of passion, elicit tears from the softness of sensibility, or extort from gravity itself the roar of laughter; yet has the assidious industry and laborious exertions of this gentleman raised him from the humblest walk of life, in which his birth had placed him, to the first rank, if not the first place, at the Irish bar. He has not, indeed, attained high official situations, or risen to those honours which are oftener the reward of judicious politics, than of professional ability; but he has acquired that which is a stronger proof both of industry and of talent—the uncontested title of being the first advocate in his country.

Mr. Curran is about fifty years of age. He was born in the county of Cork, of parents who were undistinguished by wealth or situation; who had neither a fortune by which they could have enabled the son to live independently, nor connections by which they could advance him to a profession. They were, however, capable of giving him the rudiments of a liberal education, and that seems to be the only advantage which he derived from his family. Having qualified himself for the university, he entered in the only character in which his circumstances enabled him to appear, that of a *sizer* in the college of Dublin; a situation of which the emoluments are trivial, while the marks of inferiority which

distinguish it from that of the other students, are of the most mortifying kind. The sizers have, indeed, their tuition free of expence; but they are obliged to keep the rolls of their tutors, and attend to the weekly distribution of the fines and punishments of the pupils.—They have also their commons *gratis*, but they dine only on the fragments of the fellows' table, and are compellable to discharge, in the dining-hall, several menial services.

In this situation did Mr. C. pass his first year at the university: nor did he appear, in point of pecuniary circumstances, to stand at the head even of this humble class. It is a fact, that the man who possessed powers that could move the heart, charm the imagination, and guide the judgment of a senate or of a court, was often destitute of a whole coat!

At the usual time (two years after entrance) he obtained a scholarship; by which, and by the emoluments arising from some petty offices generally bestowed on scholars, he emerged from the distress in which he had been hitherto involved. The remainder of his college career is not marked by any peculiar circumstances; he obtained the usual honours with which the policy of the university rewards industry and talents, and is said to have made some progress in reading the laborious course which is prescribed for fellowship candidates; but whether disgusted with the drudgery, or deterred by the magnitude of the undertaking, he soon desisted from the pursuit, and turned his attention to the bar.

Previously to his becoming a student in the Inns of Court of London, Mr. Curran married a lady of his own country. This match appears to have been founded in inclination, for she did not bring him a fortune sufficient to compensate the inconveniences into which such a permanent connection must have thrown him. Of the means by which he was enabled to support himself and wife, during his studies in England, and afterwards to defray the expence of his call to the bar, nothing certain is known; it is natural to suppose, however, that with talents like his, it would not be difficult to procure a livelihood by his literary exertions. But whatever might

have been the mode by which his finances were supplied, it is certain that when he came to the bar, he was in extreme poverty. He resided in Cavan-street, Dublin, a place occupied entirely by the lowest class of people, and which, in point of *gentility*, is on a level with the least reputable part of Westminster.

Mrs. Curran had now brought him a child; and being unable to indulge in the practice so common in Ireland, of sending their children to be nursed abroad, she was obliged to undergo the labour of discharging at once the duties of nurse, housewife, and cook. About this time he became a frequenter of a convivial society, originally formed by some young barristers, and called the *Monks of the Screw*. Although the members of this institution were poor, they were merry; the object of their meetings was to forget, in good fellowship, the cares of life, and relax the mind from the intenseness of legal studies. The devotion of the Monks, however, was promoted by humbler beverage than the juice of the grape, and their temple was nothing more than an upper room in a Cavan-street ale-house. Poor as such a society must have been, the circumstances of Mr. Curran were so much more humble, that they were forwarded by his connection even with it. As the club affected to be *select*, it became necessary at length that they should have an apartment to themselves; they therefore engaged one at a certain rent, and Mr. Curran was complimented with the use of it, for the residence of himself and his family, except only during those evenings on which the members assembled. He must have been poor, indeed, who lodged in such a mansion!

Mr. Curran was not the only man of talents, who at that time belonged to this society, and whom a subsequent display of genius, and of learning, raised to eminence. The present Chief Baron of the Irish Exchequer, Lord Yelverton, the early intimate and friend of Curran, was one of its original members. Though more fortunate than him in his political, as well as forensic pursuits, the connection first formed and cemented between them in the poverty of their early years (for Lord Yelverton, like Curran, had to struggle with the

difficulties of a narrow fortune,) has continued through every vicissitude of succeeding life, not only unbroken but in full strength.

That learning and talents are often enabled to raise themselves into notice, without the fortunate co-operation of extrinsic circumstances, is an observation which has been often exemplified in every profession; but, perhaps, more frequently in that of the law, than any other. Our young barrister, with qualities which are as likely to strike at first sight, as those possessed by any of his contemporaries, remained, however, for some time at the bar entirely unnoticed. The attention of the public was turned toward him, for the first time, in rather a singular way.

He had been engaged as agent by one of the candidates at a contested election, and in course of the poll, it became necessary for him to make objections to a vote proffered by the adverse party, which he did in that strong and sarcastic manner for which he is so remarkable. His antagonist, a man of rude and overbearing manners, *felt* the pungency of his wit, and not immediately recognising the Barrister under a shabby coat, and a mean appearance (for nature has not been very favourable in external decorations,) he applied to him some very gross epithets. With more spirit, perhaps, than decorum, Mr. Curran leaped from his seat, seized him by the collar, and was prevented only by the interposition of the by-standers from chastising him on the spot. He, however, was not precluded from asserting his independence in that way, which could alone be tolerated in the presence of a magistrate, he therefore, in a few pithy sentences, disclosed his *mind* and his *character;* his antagonist had generosity enough to acknowledge his error, and apologized to Mr. Curran for the consequences of his mistake; nay, instead of resenting the violence with which he had repelled the insult, he granted him his friendship, and by his recommendation and patronage very essentially promoted his future interests.

From that period he began to rise rapidly. Within less than six months he quitted his gratuitous lodgings in Cavan-street, and removed nearer to the more reputa-

ble part of the town. Mrs. Curran no longer dishonoured her lord's circumstances, by appearing in the discharge of those domestic offices which are usually performed by deputy; nay, in less than a year, the rising prosperity of the family was visible in the luxury of a one-horse chair! Merit was now finding its proper level, and, in this instance at least, we no longer behold great learning and uncommon genius struggling with adversity, or sullied in the estimation of vulgar minds, by an undeserved poverty.

Within two or three years more, we find Mr. Curran seated in the House of Commons, and seconding, with much sportive humour, every effort of the popular party for the emancipation of the country, and the establishment of its commercial freedom and political independence.

During the arduous and interesting period in which Mr. Fitzgibbon filled the office of Attorney-general, he was one of the leading men in opposition, and of course came into frequent collision with that dogmatical and haughty lawyer. The high tone of defiance on legal or constitutional questions with which the Attorney-general endeavoured to overbear his opponents, was more frequently ridiculed by the wit, than combated by the arguments of Mr. Curran; if, in this mode of combat, he did not always repel the blow, he at least evaded its force, and though he could not on every occasion boast of victory, he at least escaped defeat. On one of these contests, the issue was more serious; it produced a duel, in which Mr. C. was the challenger, but which happily was attended with no injury to either party.

While Mr. Curran was thus successfully attentive to business, he did not suffer opportunities of pleasure to pass by him unenjoyed. He was naturally, indeed, a man of uncommon gaiety; possessing an exquisite ear for music, and being himself no ordinary performer on the *forte piano*, it was not strange that the Circe-like allurements of Mrs. Billington should have enchanted him for a time.

Although Mr. Curran has been usually considered a man of gallantry, he enjoys an uninterrupted claim to

the character of a good father. He has one son, who is now (1798) about to be called to the bar, and two daughters; to the education of these he has paid the most affectionate attention.

It has been already observed, that, in his parliamentary character, he has always been attached to the popular cause. Indeed, from his outset in life, he has been a *steady* friend to the legislative independence, to free commerce, and a reform in the representation of Ireland. He has uniformly declared against the war with France, and he has combated, with unremitted vigour, during five years, the coercive system which has been pursued in Ireland. Finding the inefficacy of that opposition, he has withdrawn, along with many of those with whom he had co-operated, from the House of Commons, and is now known to the public only as an advocate. In this capacity he has lately defended many of his unfortunate countrymen; and is said to be about to retire for a time, and perhaps for ever from his native country.

As a lawyer Mr. Curran has not particularly distinguished himself, by the extent of his knowledge or the depth of his researches: he stands, in this respect only, on an equality with his competitors; it is as an advocate that he outstrips them. Indeed, in this character, he has not, perhaps, his equal in the empire. With Mr. Erskine he has been frequently compared; but in the opinion of some who have long admired, and attentively considered the respective excellencies of each, the latter holds only a second place.

Mr. Erskine is an acute, grave, laborious, and frequently an eloquent pleader; he turns the bright side of his client's case to full view, urges its strong parts with the force of a masculine understanding, and covers its weakness with very ingenious sophistry; but the jury still remember that Mr. Erskine is an advocate, and are on their guard against his arts.

Mr. Curran while he displays as much acuteness as Mr. E. gets nearer to the heart and passions of his auditors; and by the ardour and animation of an eloquence neither fictitious nor forced, excludes every feeling and every thought but those which he wishes to excite. In

the examination of witnesses, too, Mr. Curran is eminently powerful. In this manner he resembles Mr. Garrow, but perhaps excells even that gentleman in probing a rotten cause to the bottom, in eliciting truth from prevarication, and touching the secret strings that actuate the human heart.

Mr. Curran's parliamentary speeches seldom possess the excellence which has marked his professional defences. They display much less of the *mens divinior;* they are irregular, and desultory, and seem to be rather the play of his mind than its serious exertion. They, however, abound with admirable strokes of invective, and irony, and though they assist but little in guiding decision, on the point discussed, yet produce a good effect, by holding up political profligacy and corruption to contempt and detestation.

Of classical learning Mr. Curran seems to have early laid in a good store; his allusions to the Roman poets are frequent, and his quotations from them are prompt, and happy. It is a curious circumstance, that to study the Latin-classics, and commit to memory remarkable passages formed a part of Mr. Curran's preparation for the bar; and that he continues, from his experience of its utility, to recommend his practice to the student of the municipal law.

On the score of person, Mr. Curran owes but little to nature. His stature is low, his figure meagre and ill-formed, and his whole appearance far from being prepossessing. He has, however, an eye which emits the fire of genius, and is admirably calculated to transmit either the scintillations of fancy, or that deep pathos of the heart, which he not only feels himself, but can so powerfully excite in others. Of dress he has always been remarkably, perhaps culpably, negligent; for he has often played *Cicero* in the senate, in the garb of *Scrub!*

(1798.)

THE END.